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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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SENATOR STRANGE'S INDIAN NOVEL

By RICHARD WALSER

The first novel written by a resident North Carolinian with a North Carolina background[1] was *Eoneguski, or, the Cherokee Chief: A Tale of Past Wars. By an American.* This unusual romance was from the pen of Robert Strange, a United States Senator who was living in Washington at the time of the appearance of the novel. It was issued at Washington in the early months of 1839, probably during February, in an attractive two-volume edition over the imprint of Franck Taylor, the verso of the title page stating that it was "printed and copyrighted by Peter Force, Corner of D and 10th Streets." Though the book was better than average reading judged by contemporary standards, it was inadequately distributed, possibly because it was suppressed for reasons concerning which later historians have never been in agreement. Even now its rarity[2] has prevented satisfactory acquaintance with it among those readers who would find it entertaining and instructive both from a historical and from a literary point of view.

The author of *Eoneguski* was born in Manchester, Virginia, September 20, 1796.[3] He attended private schools in Virginia,

[1] The first novel by a resident North Carolinian was Winifred Marshall Gales' *Matilda Berkely, or Family Anecdotes* (Raleigh, 1804), a sentimental story of English life; and it seems likely that the first novel employing a partial North Carolina setting was the famous *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835) by John Pendleton Kennedy, a Marylander.

[2] There are copies at the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina; Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois; University of Texas Library, Austin; University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; New York Public Library; Library of Congress, Washington; Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Olivia Raney Public Library, Raleigh, North Carolina; Sondley Reference Library, Asheville, North Carolina; and in the private collections of Bruce Cotten, Baltimore, and Roger Marshall, Raleigh.

[3] Biographical material from John S. McEachern, "Robert Strange, Twelfth Grand Master of Masons in North Carolina," *The Orphans' Friend and Masonic Journal*, LXIV (August 1, 1939), 7; John Livingstone (ed.), *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Lawyers, Now Living* (New York, 1852), I, 97-111; John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851), II, 130; John Howard Brown (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia of American Biographies* (Boston: Federal Book Company, 1903), VII, 243; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Government Printing Office, 1928), 1579; and S. A. Ashe, "Robert Strange," unpublished sketch in the Charles L. Van Noppen Papers, Manuscript Room, Duke University Library.

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later enrolled in Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), and graduated from Hampden-Sydney College. At the age of nineteen he moved to Fayetteville, North Carolina, where he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and began his practice. In 1817 he married Jane Kirkland of Hillsboro, a sister of the wife of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin. He was a member of the state house of commons, 1821-1823, 1826; and from 1827 to 1836 he served as judge of the superior court in North Carolina. From 1836 to 1840 he was United States Senator from North Carolina. After his resignation from the Senate he resumed his law practice in Fayetteville and became solicitor for the state Fifth Judicial District. He died in Wilmington, February 19, 1854, and was interred in the family burial ground at his home, "Myrtle Hill," near Fayetteville.

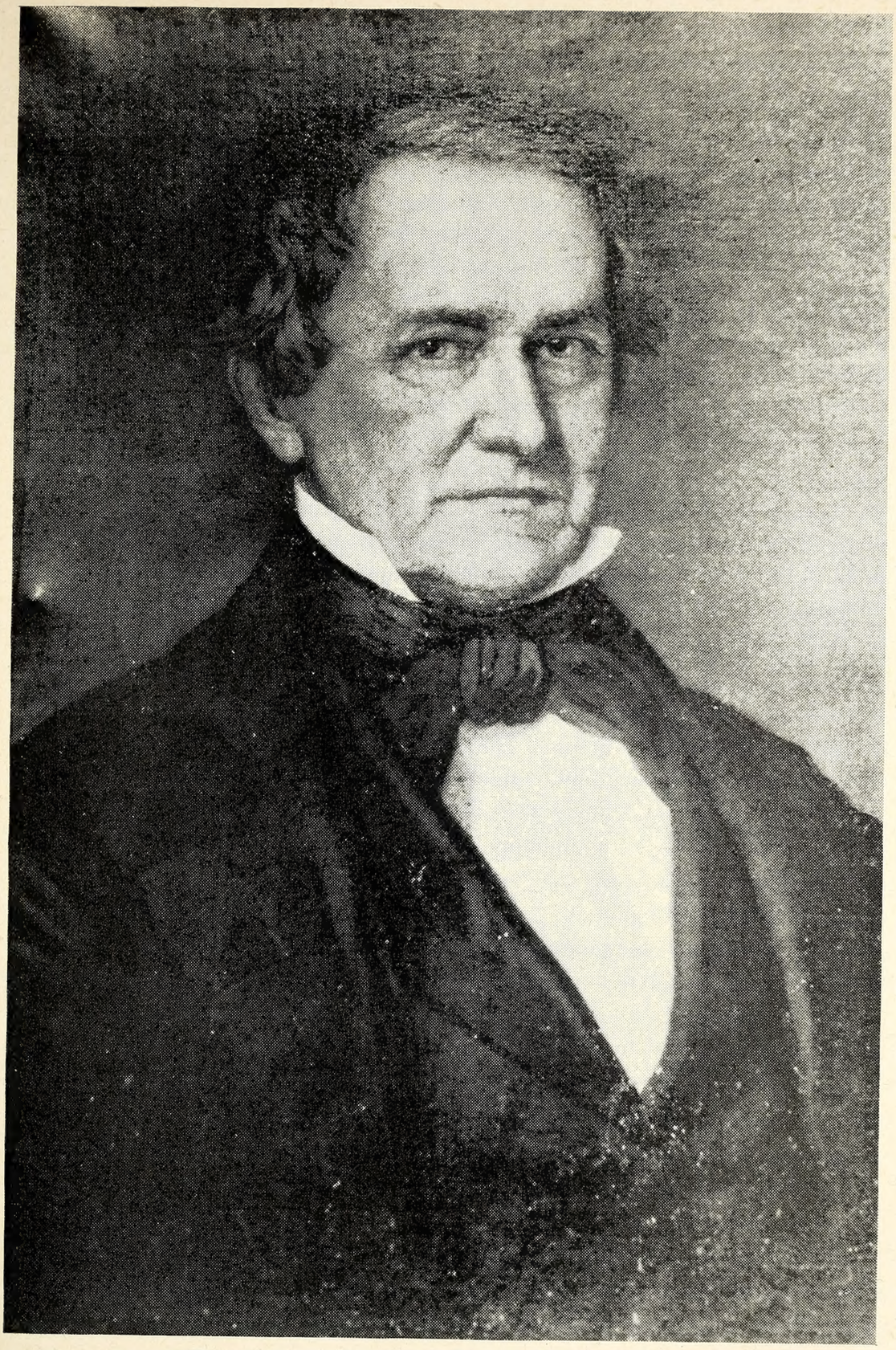
For many years before its publication Strange had been gathering material for his Indian romance. While riding the superior court circuit, he had visited the North Carolina mountains, inquiring into Indian antiquities and legends and making copious notes about aboriginal customs and histories. The result was a conviction that the white settlers had dealt unjustly with the native owners of the mountain lands, and this conviction he set down forcibly in his novel. By the summer of 1838 he had completed the book, and on July 6 he wrote to Peter Force:

> The bearer will deliver you herewith the M.S. which I have corrected as far as time will afford in its present state. I will reserve any farther corrections for the proof sheets. I am afraid it is not as legible as could be desired but your compositors will I trust soon become accustomed to the hand.[4]

A few days later Strange drew up in his own handwriting a two-page contract for the publication of the novel. It is an interesting document, particularly in its indication of the high hopes Strange had for the work's financial and popular success.

> Agreement entered into this 10th day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirty eight between Peter Force of the City of Washington and Robert Strange of North Carolina Witnesseth
>
> That whereas the said Robert Strange hath written and composed a certain tale or Novel by the Title of Eoneguski or the

[4] Manuscript insertion in volume II of *Eoneguski*, New York Public Library. Faithful reproduction of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation in the quotation from original manuscripts and books has been effected in all cases.



(Portrait property of Mr. Robert Strange, Wilmington, direct descendant of novelist)

ROBERT STRANGE
(1796-1854)

Cherokee Cheif and is desirous of publishing the same and the said Peter Force is ready and competent and having the necessary means and skill to make and issue the said publication it is understood and agreed between the parties that the said Peter Force shall proceed to secure the copy right for the said work in his own name both in the United States of America and in great Britian and issue and publish as soon as may be at his own risk & hazard a suitable number of copies of the said work for the first edition and cause the same to be sold to the best advantage and the proceeds of such sales apply first to the payment of the necessary expences incident to such sales and publication and the balance divide equally between the said Peter Force and Robert Strange. And the said copy right both in the United States of America and in Great Britian is to be and remain the property of the said Robert Strange and Peter Force their executors administra[tors] or assigns jointly and severally, and all profits arising from any sale thereof or future publications or editions of the said work are to be at the joint expence and for the joint profit and advantage of the said Robert Strange and Peter Force their executors administrators and assigns. And it is farther agreed that the said Peter Force will and hath advanced immediately to the said Robert Strange Six Hundred dollars in anticipation of the profits of the said publication; and if it shall so happen that in twelve months from the date hereof the one half of the profits of the said publication shall not equal the said sum of six hundred dollars then the said Robert Strange shall return to the said Peter Force so much of the said six hundred dollars as may exceed the said one half of the said profits with interest thereon from the date.

And the said Peter Force doth farther agree to render to the said Robert Strange semiannually a statement of the expences, receipts and contracts he may have made on account of said publication during the existence of the said copy right unless all transactions in relation thereto may be sooner finally closed.

And it is farther understood that the name of the said Robert Strange shall not be known as the author of the said work until his consent thereto shall be freely given.

And the said Peter Force doth farther agree to pay over semiannually to the said Robert Strange any portion of profits to which he may be entitled under the foregoing agreement.[5]

The expectations of pecuniary reward and, one can believe, of personal acclaim if the book met with critical favor were never realized. Even while the book was at the printers, Strange's political fortunes had suffered a reversal which made the appearance of any novel, especially one as clear in many of its purposes as *Eoneguski,* a somewhat embarrassing event.

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[5] Manuscript insertion in volume I of *Eoneguski*, New York Public Library.

Strange had been elected to the Senate by the state legislature on December 3, 1836, barely winning by a vote of sixty-one to fifty-eight over Judge Thomas Settle. When as a Democratic Senator he took his seat on December 5, 1836, he succeeded Judge Willie P. Mangum, who had previously resigned because of his inability to approve certain legislative mandates conscientiously. In that day it was the custom for the United States Senators from North Carolina to follow implicitly whatever "instructions" were received from the state legislature. If any Senator felt he could not do so, it was expected of him by both the legislature and the people of the state that he resign immediately. All this was clearly understood by Strange when he accepted the office of Senator, and his first two years seem to have passed quietly enough. In 1838, however, when along with Bedford Brown, the other Senator from North Carolina, he voted to expunge the anti-Jackson resolutions from the Senate journal, the North Carolina legislature, now controlled by the Whigs and most assuredly not pro-administration, thought it time to let the Senators know its wishes. The Whigs had not forgotten the manner in which their political colleague Judge Mangum had been deprived of his seat only two years before and they did not wish to resort to a practice which they had previously denounced. They therefore adopted, on December 4, 1838, certain "resolutions" condemning the expunging act and the administration policies in general. Strange and Brown replied that the "resolutions" were not "instructions," that their course of action was clear, and that they awaited further "instructions." The legislature would not be more definite but stated that the import of the resolutions was simple enough. Strange and Brown kept their seats.[6]

[6] When Strange finally resigned on June 30, 1840, he gave a full explanation of his actions. "I was well convinced that I could not with propriety treat the resolutions as instructions, and so respectfully informed the legislature, requesting, at the same time, that if I was wrong, I might be set right. My conclusion, if wrong, was not corrected, and I might have contented myself in my position until its term expired. But I knew the public mind was much stirred concerning the doctrine of instructions, and that ungenerous persons would, notwithstanding the pains I had taken to set myself right, impugn to me the design of holding under constitutional forms a place for which, according to its spirit and substance, I was unfit. It had been said by high authority that I was supporting an administration to which my constituents were opposed. I am among the last men to question the representative character of our government, or to deny to the people the right of setting up and pulling down at pleasure, and I would sooner perish than avail myself of a position in which their generous confidence had placed me to thwart their wishes. Believing that the Legislative elections had not taken place in reference to any such result, and that the appointment of my successor could not be made in conformity to the expressed wishes of the people, my immediate resignation would not have secured obedience to their will. But, I determined and accordingly promised to resign in time for the people to avail themselves of the first occasion of indicating their choice of a Senatorial representative. That pledge in now redeemed. I return to private life. . . ." Letter quoted in *Daily State Chronicle* (Raleigh), Jan. 13, 1891.

The reaction of the public press was immediate and violent; it almost universally comdemned the senators for their failure to follow the wishes of the legislature. The Raleigh newspapers were solidly against the Senators,[7] and Strange was denied support even in his own locality. An editorial in the *Fayetteville Observer* of January 16, 1839, stated:

> We have as yet no information of the course our Senators in Congress mean to pursue. They are still in their seats, officiating as the Senators of North Carolina, and unquestionably misrepresenting the State, according to every test to which her opinions have been subjected. Their conduct is remarked upon with much severity, as well in other States as our own, both in regard to the letter written to the Legislature, and to the tenacity with which they hold on to their seats, nothwithstanding their pledges. . . . It is said, by those who have undoubted sources of information, that Judge Strange, who made this pledge [to 'bid adieu to these halls'] in a speech delivered in the Senate during the last session, has never believed in the doctrine of Instructions. Nothwithstanding this fact, he certainly accepted the office made vacant in pursuance of instructions, well knowing that to be a prominent doctrine of his party. . . .

Strange was alarmed by this unlucky turn of events, particularly so just at the time *Eoneguski* was due to appear; but he retained his seat and, as much as he could, tried to pacify the state press in their denunciations. In February he sent certain public documents to the angry editor of the *Hillsborough Recorder*,[8] but this gesture apparently was insufficient to provide a change of sentiment, for on March 21 the *Recorder* reprinted the accusing speech delivered in the North Carolina house of commons, December 14, 1838, on the resolutions to the Senators in Congress.

As if all this were not sufficiently disturbing to the aspirations of the new novelist, another consideration presented itself for further embarrassment. In championing the cause of the Indian in North Carolina, Strange had gone against the accepted principles of his own Democratic party. Already in trouble with the Whigs at home, he would appear, to politically minded readers of *Eoneguski*, a man who had rejected the policies of Jackson,

[7] Raleigh *Star and North Carolina Gazette*, January 9, 1839; *Raleigh Register*, February 4, February 11, May 4, 1839.
[8] February 28, 1839.

whom recently he had so staunchly defended. But when he had written his book, no other view of the Indian dispossessions could have been taken by the tender-hearted Senator.

The treaty of New Echota, signed in 1835 and proclaimed in 1836, had provided for the Cherokee removal to the West. As the treaty was agreed upon by fewer than 500 Indians in a population of 16,000 Cherokees, many politicians considered it unjust and publicly denounced it. In a way the treatment of the Indians became a point of dissension between the two major parties, the Democrats upholding the action of President Jackson and the Whigs under Henry Clay's leadership denouncing it. But Strange's sympathies for the suffering and duped Indians had long years ago been formed. Even as he was completing his novel, the final cruel rounding up of the Cherokees was progressing. Almost 17,000 Indians of various tribes had been apprehended—some without warning—and driven like cattle into numerous stockades. In June, 1838, in the very moments when Strange was correcting his manuscript for the publisher, the first of the final Indian treks to the West had begun, the last march being on December 4 of that year. Some had escaped to the mountain fastnesses, but the tales of human sorrow and personal degradation had steeled the compassionate heart of the Senator.

There was little feeling of kindness for the Indians among the people of North Carolina. The local presses were crammed with accounts of Indian massacres and stories of horror and murder. Fear of the Indians was indeed still prevalent among those who were settling the mountain areas. Instead of any feeling of grief for these aborigines of the state, North Carolinians were primarily concerned with the disposal of the public lands which their removal would release.

The early months of 1839 were, therefore, surely unpropitious for the publication of a novel like *Eoneguski* by one in Strange's shoes. Out of favor with a state legislature that felt accountable for his actions in Congress, liable for misunderstanding by a political party which would have considered his Indian views incompatible with the party policies, and expressive of a sympathy not widely held by his constituents, Strange must have anticipated the appearance of his novel somewhat apprehensively, even with its anonymous authorship.

EONEGUSKI,

OR,

THE CHEROKEE CHIEF:

A TALE OF PAST WARS.

BY AN AMERICAN.

Robert Strange

BUT HERE (METHINKS) MIGHT INDIA'S SONS EXPLORE
THEIR FATHER'S DUST, OR LIFT, PERCHANCE OF YORE
THEIR VOICE TO THE GREAT SPIRIT: ——

Gertrude of Wyoming.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Washington:
FRANCK TAYLOR.

1839.

(From University of North Carolina Library)

TITLE PAGE OF "EONEGUSKI"

In addition to these considerations, the novel was a new untested medium for Strange, who was regarded as an accomplished literary amateur in his day. Sabin[9] lists eleven of his addresses printed between 1826 and 1853. John H. Wheeler[10] thus comments on Strange:

> As a writer he has often appeared before the public. His style is highly imaginative; his taste, chastened by an intimate acquaintance with the most approved authors of the language in every age, is classic and beautiful. His eulogy upon Judge Gaston cannot but affect the heart, improve the feelings, and delight the mind of all who may have the pleasure to read it.

Strange was a poet too. Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke included ten of his poems in her edition of North Carolina verse.[11] They bore such titles as "The Smile of Love," "The Music of the Heart," and "The Lost Pleiad," and are rather tenderly sentimental and undistinguished. Here is the opening stanza of "The Rose-Bud of North Carolina":

> Would you gather a garland of beauty bright?
> You should wander at dawn, or by pale moonlight,
> While the breeze is fresh on the opening flowers,
> Or their leaves are moist with the dewy showers;
> One Rose you should gather, and gladly entwine her,
> The soft opening Rose-bud of North Carolina.[12]

With *Eoneguski* Strange entered the professional world of letters, albeit anonymously. It was necessary to extend his talents beyond the oratorical effusions and poetic ditties which had brought him a mild literary prominence among his friends. He met the challenge with all his abilities and natural gifts. Though *Eoneguski* cannot be called a work of genius, Strange wove a narrative immensely curious in detail and exciting in plot. Since the novel is not readily obtainable, it is well to review here its events in full outline.

In an introduction, signed simply "An American," the author relates that a few years ago, while travelling through the western

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[9] *Bibliotheca Americana*, XXIV, 92-93.
[10] Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, II, 130.
[11] *Wood-Notes* (Raleigh: Warren L. Pomeroy, 1854), II, 74-92.
[12] *Wood-Notes*, II, 77.

part of North Carolina, he stopped at a small village on the southwestern side of the Tennessee River and inquired of his host if there were in the neighborhood any works of art or nature to interest the stranger. The author was told that nearby there was an Indian mound as well as the Falls of the Sugar Town Fork, and was directed to the home of one who would be able to tell him the legendary lore of the surrounding area, a certain McDonald, "the clerk of the court—a scholar, a gentleman."[13] On a visit to the Falls, McDonald asked if the traveller had seen the plain black cross in the graveyard at the nearby Indian village of Tesumtoe. The complicated tale which followed is a recounting of the events with which the cross was concerned.

After the opening up to white settlers of those regions west of the Blue Ridge, one of the first to venture into the new country was Robert Aymor, a stern, gaunt, intelligent mountaineer, more than fifty years of age at the time of the story. He occupied a log cabin in the valley of Homony Creek, a stream emptying into the French Broad River from the west. By his wife Dolly Hays, a rude, obese, and rather dull woman, he had become the father of more than a dozen children, of whom the eldest was Gideon Aymor, "A little more than a score of years"[14] of age. Atha, his sister, was a few years younger.

Into their home one snowy night came an Indian, who was allowed to eat and sleep by the fire in accordance with the mountain code of hospitality. During his prolonged stay, Eoneguski or the Big Bear was told of affairs in the Aymor household. It seemed that some time before, Atha's hand in marriage had been requested by John Welch, the adopted son of neighbors but one who was known to have Indian blood in his veins. When Robert Aymor refused the suit, Welch had departed the home of his foster parents. In turn, Eoneguski revealed that he was then on a mission to take the life of Welch, who had retreated to the Cherokee country and slain a warrior of Eoneguski's tribe—a crime which demanded a life for a life. He also disclosed that he had been the one who had once interceded for the life of Robert Aymor when he had been captured by the Indians during Rutherford's campaign of retaliation in 1776. Mutual recognition re-

[13] *Eoneguski*, I, iv.
[14] *Eoneguski*, I, 17.

sulted. Eoneguski announced the abandonment of his intention to kill Welch, and Aymor agreed to the marriage of Atha and Welch. Eoneguski then asked Gideon, with whom he had formed a friendship, to accompany him home to Eonee, the village of his father the Cherokee chief Eonah, in order to visit Robert Aymor's old friend and to locate John Welch. With reluctance Robert Aymor agreed to let his son go.

At this point the narrative reverts to the adventures of John Welch, who had travelled to the land of the Cherokees to find his real parents and to settle permanently. There at Sugar Town he had been welcomed at the home of the chief, Santuchee or the Panther, who now quite old was spending his declining years in grief because of his son Cheasquah's unrevenged murder by the Leech, a member of an adjoining tribe. Welch was urged to carry out this revenge by Santuchee, who promised him subsequent adoption and the succeeding chieftainship of the tribe. Another who desired the revenge was the villainous Chuheluh or the Fox, rival of Eonah and Eoneguski. With the Cherokee prophet and medicine man, Susquanannacunahata or the Long Blanket, Chuheluh plotted to drive Welch to the deed. This was accomplished; and directed by Chuheluh, Welch fled the territory, closely followed by Eoneguski, who had taken upon himself the further revenge of his slain tribesman, the Leech. The two successfully eluded Eoneguski, but Welch finally became ill when they had arrived at the crest of the Blue Ridge beyond Grandfather Mountain near the home of the Irishman Dr. Jonathan Wooddie, a blacksmith and physician. After Welch's recovery he returned to the valley of the Homony, always eluding the pursuing Eoneguski, not aware that shortly thereafter Eoneguski had abandoned his purposes.

On their way to the Cherokee territory, Eoneguski and Gideon followed the road from Asheville to Waynesville, which was crowded on this day with Indians and mountain folk who had come to town for the "County Court (or as it is called in the statutes, the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions) for Haywood County."[15] The temple of law "was a coarse building, consisting of unplaned boards loosely put together, and scarcely serving to defend either priests or worshippers from sun, wind, rain, or

[15] *Eoneguski*, I, 197.

snow."[16] The crudeness of the court procedure, the drunkenness and ignorance of the itinerant lawyers, Rowell, Smoothly, and Johns, and the general indignity of the entire court receive venomous satire from the author. After the court was dissolved, "The balance of the day was spent in horse racing, fighting, and other kindred amusements, with which most of the inhabitants of Waynesville and its vicinity were wont to beguile their idle hours."[17]

As Gideon and Eoneguski resumed their journey, they crossed Richland Creek, followed the course of Scott's Creek, passed the Tuckasege River, and finally arrived at the valley of the Tennessee. On viewing some Indian mounds, Gideon asked Eoneguski the origin of these piles, but the Indian professed his ignorance and his further belief that they were erected by tribes who inhabited the region before the Cherokees.

On their arival at Eonee, the travellers found Eonah to be very ill, and a quarrel ensued between the old chief and Eoneguski over the latter's failure to consummate revenge for the Leech's death. The two friends then journeyed to Tesumtoe, "a village near the head of one of the forks of the Tennessee River,"[18] south of Eonee (the present site of Franklin) with Sugar Town in between. There in the house of the half-breed Yenacona they met Little Deer, the Indian maiden beloved by Eoneguski, who explained that Yenacona was the half-sister of Little Deer's full-blooded father, Ooconoota. Gideon and Little Deer immediately fell in love with each other; and though Gideon realized the betrayal of his friend Eoneguski, the two lovers were encouraged by Yenacona, who had inherited the Catholic faith from her white mother and did not wish her niece to marry a pagan.

Eoneguski was recalled to the death-bed of Eonah and proclaimed by Susquanannacunahata as the succeeding chief of the village. On his return to Tesumtoe, Eoneguski was treated coolly by Yenacona and Little Deer, who had been apprised that John Welch was the son of Yenacona and that his life was being sought by Eoneguski.

Yenacona then told her story to Gideon. She was the daughter of Attacallaculla, son of the chieftian Moytoy, and Maria, a white

[16] *Eoneguski*, I, 197.
[17] *Eoneguski*, I, 209.
[18] *Eoneguski*, II, 23.



"Myrtle Hill," Home of Robert Strange, as it Looks Today. Site is Several Miles North of Fayetteville, Just Off Highway 15-A.

girl whose life had been saved by Attacallaculla. After Yenacona's birth, her mother had escaped to Charleston when Attacallaculla wished to marry another wife, an Indian woman. Yenacona followed her mother and at Charleston was reared in cultured society and in the Catholic faith. There she fell in love with and married Israel De Lisle, a Frenchman of high birth, and they soon journeyed to the Indian country, where De Lisle was sent by the British to stir up the bordering Indian tribes against the patriot Americans. In a battle De Lisle was killed, Yenacona's son Oocomoo (John Welch) disappeared, and Yenacona, after years of dejection, took upon herself the training and upbringing of Little Deer. She had never ceased to hope, however, that her son might be found, and urged Gideon to return to the Homony and make a diligent search for Oocomoo.

After a short visit to the Homony, Gideon returned to the Cherokee lands as a guide for his father's old craven friend, Thompson, now in the guise of an itinerant Methodist preacher, though actually a British agent to woo the Cherokees to the side of the English in the approaching struggle of 1812. On the way they met Eoneguski at the autumn celebration of the Green Corn Feast.[19] When they arrived at Tesumtoe, Gideon resumed his courtship of Little Deer, encouraged by Thompson. The agent wished to influence the Indians through Gideon, who on his marriage would be chief of Tesumtoe. Meanwhile, Thompson had been rebuffed by Eoneguski, who clearly believed that the best interests of the Cherokees would be served by their taking sides with the troops of the White Father in Washington.

The Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, visited Eoneguski in order to persuade the Cherokees to join the British against the Americans. Gaining several Cherokee warriors but not Eoneguski nor the entire Cherokee nation, Tecumseh left for Tookabatcha (Alabama), where the Creeks had set up their headquarters under Weatherford and the Little Warrior.

Eoneguski joined his forces with those of the Overhill Cherokee chief, Pathfinder, though the entire army was under the command of Andrew Jackson. An assault was made against the Creeks at Tohopeka, a bend in the Tallapoosa River, with Jackson's troops attacking down the peninsula and Eoneguski's war-

[19] *Eoneguski*, II, 138-143.

riors swimming to the extremity of the bend and, by releasing the canoes there, cutting off the retreat of the Creeks.[20]

In the treaty following the battle of Tohopeka, though Eoneguski and his Cherokees had fought for the victorious Americans, the valley of the Tennessee River was taken from the tribe by Jackson himself. "Scarcely had the treaty been signed which ascertained the territorial rights of the Cherokee Indians, when the covetous eyes of the neighboring white people were fixed upon the fairest portion of their possessions, and commissioners were appointed to negotiate for a purchase. The sad experience of past times filled Eoneguski with the most painful forebodings of the result. To negotiate had been, in the history of the intercourse between the white and the red men, but a term to express less harshly a declaration, on the part of the former what lands they wanted of the latter; the price they were willing to pay; and their determination to have them at that price, 'peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must.' The village of his birth; the scene of his early sports; of his youthful affections; of his manly trials; the hearthstone; the tombs; the ashes of his fathers; were all included in the present demand. With a prophetic eye he saw them already surrendered to the relentless grasp of the stranger, and the simple red men abandoning, in bitterness of soul, the homes of their fathers, which they ardently desired, but wanted the sagacity to retain."[21] The Indians indeed received poor reward for their loyalty to the mountain settlers.

The concluding events are sketched briefly. Dr. Wooddie attended the marriage of John Welch and Atha Aymor on the Homony; and Aymor's second daughter married Lawyer Johns. Robert Aymor "still dwells on the Homony. As a hero of two wars, he was elected to represent his county in the General Assembly, where he was also chosen a Brigadier General of the State militia."[22] When the Cherokees were driven to the Far West, Gideon and Little Deer, and Atha Aymor and Welch (now Chief Oocomoo) were with them. Eoneguski, who never married, bought land along the Oconalufty and settled there with a small group of his tribe, "upwards of a hundred."[23]

[20] This action is generally assigned troops under Junaluska, who does not figure in this novel.
[21] *Eoneguski*, II, 185.
[22] *Eoneguski*, II, 192-193.
[23] *Eoneguski*, II, 196.

At the time when Strange projected and wrote this intricate and ambitious Indian novel, the vogue for such writing was at its height. James Fenimore Cooper had popularized the genre with *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1826; and somewhat later in 1835 William Gilmore Simms had published *The Yemassee,* which focused attention on the rich unused Indian material in the South. Strange had evidently been influenced by the success of this type of fiction, and in *Eoneguski* he undoubtedly hoped for similar popular applause. He did not possess, however, the perceptive artistry of either Cooper or Simms, whose use of historical material was in the broad panorama of the narrative background and whose characters, if they were actual, were either of minor importance of in the dim past. With a bluntness which is amazing Strange selected his characters from persons whom he had known and about whom he had heard, many of them still living when the novel appeared. The events were chosen from occurrences of which a few were not even concluded. It was a bold stroke but an extremely dangerous one, for contemporaries could easily recognize most of the characters under their masks. The names, even, were only slightly disguised; and John Welch, one of the principal figures, marched courageously forth in the novel without any masquerade at all.

The historical events which Strange portrayed in the novel are not only few but speedily related. Except for the essential circumstances of the relationship between Indians and white settlers in the western part of North Carolina in the opening years of the nineteenth century, the historical incidents are not particularly germane to the plot-thread of the narrative. Though the supposed visit of Tecumseh is given a broadly romantic treatment, actually it furthers the story but little. It is in the battle of Tohopeka that Strange draws most upon history. There he introduces Andrew Jackson, Pathfinder, Weatherford, and the Little Warrior—the last three well-known Indian fighters—but they are seen only briefly. The battle is described with sufficient accuracy, though with Eoneguski receiving the role usually given Junaluska. The cessions of Indian lands described by Strange must have been in either 1817 or 1819. The Indian removals, as has been pointed out, were even closer to the time of the composition of the novel. The choice, then, of historical back-

ground was artistically acceptable. It was in the selection of characters that Strange was liable to be misunderstood.

Strange drew the title-character of Eoneguski from a life-portrait of the most prominent chief of the East Cherokees, Yonaguska or Drowning Bear.[24] He had probably met the Indian during his tours of the region as superior court judge.[25] Noted for his efforts to remain peaceful with the white settlers, Yonaguska would certainly have attracted the attention of the uncontentious jurist, who set him forth in the novel with little alteration except for those deviations which are necessary for the romanticist. The chieftian was known variously as Yonahequah, Yonanaqua, and Yonah. As he was born about 1759 and was seventeen during Rutherford's campaign in 1776, he was thus old enough to have saved the life of "Robert Aymor" at that time. As chief he had succeeded Yanegwa, or Big Bear, a name which Strange either purposely or erroneously used as his translation of "Eoneguski." Remarkably handsome, some six feet six inches tall, he once headed a delegation of Cherokees to Washington in order to present the Indians' problems to government officials; and there is a tradition that in the capital city he appeared before John C. Calhoun, who was much impressed by the chieftain. Though Yonaguska desired peaceful relations with the whites, he repeatedly refused to move to the West. One of his preserved speeches, confirming his intention to remain in North Carolina, proves his reputation as an orator. A portion of the discourse will remind readers of *Eoneguski* of some of Strange's contentions.

As to the white man's promises of protection, they have been too often broken; they are like the reeds in yonder river—they are all lies. North Carolina has acknowledged our title to these lands,

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[24] For biographical data see John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1914), 573-574; Theodore F. Davidson, *Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina* (Asheville: Service Printing Company, [1928]), 8-10; Charles Lanman, *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains* (New York: Putnam, 1849), 106-114; James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee* (Government Printing Office, 1900), 162-164; Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Duke University Press, 1947), 203-205; Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, II, 205-206; Wilbur G. Zeigler and Ben S. Grosscup, *The Heart of the Alleghanies* (Raleigh: Alfred Williams, 1883), 33-35.

[25] "Judge *Strange* took such interest in this old chief that he recorded his traditions in [?] a novel, laying its scenes in the Cherokee Nation. He tried to name his book that of the name of this old Indian Chief Eona-Guskah—but misnamed it Yona Gusta." Silas McDowell to L. C. Draper, North Carolina Papers, Draper MS, State of Wisconsin Historical Society, KK 57, June 17, 1873.

"I don't know at what time the name of *Yona Guskee* had ceased [?] to be mentioned, and the first I heard of it was when one of our Judges—to wit—the Hon *Robert Strange* was collecting material for his novel—*Yona Gustee.*" Draper MS, State of Wisconsin Historical Society. KK 68, October 8, 1873.



FLAT GRAVESTONE IN FAMILY BURIAL PLOT
AT MYRTLE HILL

and the United States has guarantied that title; but all this did not prevent the Government from taking away our lands by force; and, not only that, but sold the very cow of the poor Indian and his gun, so as to compel him to leave the country. Is this what the white man calls justice and protection? No, we will not go to the West. We wanted to become the children of North Carolina, and she has received us as such, and passed a law for our protection, and we will continue to raise our corn in this very land. The people of Carolina have always been very kind to us, and we know they will never oppress us . . . . I always advise my people to keep their backs for ever turned towards the setting sun, and never to leave the land of their fathers. I tell them they must live like good citizens; never forget the kindness of North Carolina, and always be ready to help her in time of war.[26]

Yonaguska was indeed willing to help in time of war,[27] but he never moved to the West. He remained with the remnants of his people, was universally beloved by them, and governed them as a father. Some time before his death he removed to the valley of the Soco,[28] where he died in April, 1839. He left two wives, a Negro slave named Cudjo, and considerable property. He had previously turned over the chieftainship to his adopted white son, Colonel William Holland Thomas. In 1848 Lanman stated that his grave was marked by a pile of stones on the margin of the Soco,[29] and Mooney placed it about a mile below the old Macedonia mission there,[30] but the exact spot is not now known.

The historical character of Yonaguska is thus preserved in Strange's *Eoneguski* but only so far as the purposes of the romantic novelist allowed. There is no mention of his wives, and no mention of Thomas, though Strange must surely have known of both. Omitted also in the novel are two of the three most often related episodes in the life of Yonaguska—his suspicion of missionaries and the Bible, and his establishment of a temperance society for his people. Of the third, however, Strange made use as the very backbone of his plot. This concerned Yonaguska's pursuit of John Welch, his subsequent abandonment of the

[26] Lanman, *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains*, 109-110.
[27] Records in the Adjutant General's office of the War Department "show that Yonahaquah, surname also shown as Yonohaqua, served in the War of 1812 as a 1st corporal in Capt. James Brown's Company of Cherokee Warriors of the Cherokee Regiment commanded by Colonel Gideon Morgan, Jr. His service commenced 7 October 1813 and ended 6 January 1814. This organization was on an Expedition against the hostile Creeks. The records do not show in what battles he participated."—Letter from Edward F. Witsell, Major General, dated 28 May 1947. This evidence denies Yonaguska's officially taking part in the Battle of Tohopeka, fought in March, 1814.
[28] Within the present area of the Cherokee Reservation in Swain County, North Carolina.
[29] *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains*, 110.
[30] *Myths of the Cherokee*, 163.

search, and his later return to his tribe. Unhesitantly calling it a "tradition," Theodore F. Davidson told the story as he remembered hearing it in his younger years:

Among the Cherokees, the law of "next of kin" prevailed, under which it was the solemn duty of those of nearest blood to punish the murderer of one of the clan or family. This was held so sacred that a failure to avenge the crime was regarded as an unforgivable offence. One John Welch, a French half-breed, killed Eoneguski's brother in a drunken brawl on head of Valley River, and knowing the fate likely to follow, fled across the mountains to the Indian settlements in what is now East Tennessee. Eoneguski at once pursued, but Welch, getting information, again fled back across the Appalachians to the settlements around the head of the Savannah River. There he apparently was secure, for a time, and became acquainted with the family of a frontiersman named Blythe, who had a beautiful daughter named Bettie. She and Welch loved and agreed to marry, but before the marriage, a rumor was heard that Eoneguski was seen in the forest fringing the settlement. Everyone knew what that portended for Welch. Bettie, however, was reluctant to give up her lover. By some means she located the pursuer and arranged a meeting with him; it took place in the deep forest—none but the blood avenger and the girl being present. Oh, for a Scott to describe the scene! Bettie with tears streaming told Eoneguski how much she loved Welch; that her happiness depended upon his life and their marriage; and throwing herself at his feet implored him to forego his vengeful purpose. The warrior stood silent and apparently as unresponsive as one of the great trees that surrounded them, but after a moment's contemplation of the weeping figure at his feet, threw his rifle on his shoulder and uttering a significant "Uh!" turned on his feet and disappeared. Welch and Bettie married; acquired a valuable farm on Valley River in Cherokee County; raised a large and respectable family. The writer has often been in Bettie's house, when she was an old but still handsome woman; and some of her children were his schoolmates.[31]

The Strange variations of the incident are remarkably slight. In *Eoneguski* the murderer fled east instead of west, and Atha Aymor conveniently assumed the role of Bettie Blythe. Arthur, in recounting the episode in his *Western North Carolina,* had Welch going to the New Found Range west of Asheville, thence to Pickens, South Carolina, where he met a Betty Bly.[32] At any

[31] *Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina,* 8-9.
[32] *Western North Carolina,* 573-574. Col. Allen T. Davidson is cited as authority.

rate, the set of events provided the novelist with an opportunity for broad fictional treatment, and he used it for all its worth.

Among the other Indians whom Strange mentioned were Moytoy, "a Cherokee Chief recognized by the English as 'emperor' in 1730,"[33] and Attakullakulla, or Little Carpenter, son of Moytoy and grand chief of the Cherokees, who was noted for his friendship with the white colonists.[34] The brief appearances of Pathfinder, Weatherford, and Little Warrior have already been cited. Yenacona seems to be in part only the fictional counterpart of an actual Indian half-breed by the name of Nancy Ward. Mooney[35] states that she was of considerable political importance in the tribe, that she was "queenly and commanding," and that she lived in a dignified home corresponding to her personal nobility. She was the daughter of a British officer and the sister of Attakullakulla. In the Strange novel, Attakullakulla becomes her father and she loses her English name; but otherwise the known facts of Nancy Ward are contained in the romantic portrait of Yenacona.

Of the white characters in *Eoneguski,* John Welch, as has been noted, was most faithfully extracted from the stories which Strange had heard. In addition to using Welch's actual name, Strange apparently invented Israel Le Lisle to account for Welch's French parentage. Yenacona, by now, has become Welch's mother—a connection which served well the purpose of a romantic novelist.

In the introduction, the character of McDonald is, of course, Strange's portrayal of Silas McDowell.[36] At the time when Strange was riding the superior court circuit, McDowell was clerk of court of Macon County. His biographers reveal that he had a literary as well as a legal and scientific mind. It was only natural that Strange was attracted to one who could tell him the history and legends of the regions, and we can be sure that McDowell was responsible for much of the background which Strange later employed. In his introduction Strange repaid much of this debt of gratitude. His brief encounter with "McDonald"

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[33] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee,* 526.
[34] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee,* 42.
[35] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee,* 203-204.
[36] Biographical material in Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 427; Davidson, *Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina,* 19-20; James Wood Davidson, *The Living Writers of the South* (New York: Carleton, 1869), 357-360. See p. 14, n. 25.

is highly complimentary, one of the most effective portions of the novel; and in all justice to one whom he admired, the author allowed the mountaineer to be, more or less, the third-person narrator of his book.

The other white characters are more difficult to identify. "Aymor" is undoubtedly a free translation of the surname of the large and prominent Love family. Though individual matching of the character and the man is hazardous, it appears certain that Robert Aymor is a partial portrait of Colonel Robert Love (1760-1845), who "was on the expedition under Col. Christi in 1776 against the Cherokees."[37] "In 1778 he was engaged against the Chickamauga Indians as colonel of a regiment operating near White's fort."[38] "He moved to Buncombe county, N. C., as early as 1792, and represented that county in 1793, 1794, 1795 in the State Senate."[39] Thus Colonel Love was a far more distinguished figure than Strange allowed Robert Aymor to be in *Eoneguski,* and one doubts that Love could have been as pleased with his fictional self as must McDowell. Love's wife was Mary Ann Dillard, daughter of Colonel Thomas Dillard, of Pittsylvania County, Virginia;[40] and if Colonel Love recognized his own portrait disapprovingly, he must have been humiliated when he read what Strange had written of his wife, "Dolly Hays." However, the dates are too close to be misleading. Aymor was fifty years old at the time of the story, he had fought in the Indian campaign of 1776, and he had been among the first settlers in the newly formed Buncombe County after it has been opened up. Only his political career is delayed, and even that is mentioned by Strange before the novel closes. Robert Love's brother, Thomas Love, was likewise a soldier, politician, and frontiersman;[41] and as he was a general instead of a colonel, it may be that the Robert Aymor of *Eoneguski* was a composite of the two brothers.

If the character of Robert Aymor was somewhat uncomplimentary to the original, one shudders to think what must have been the reaction of those itinerant lawyers who sat for the verbal snapshots of Rowell, Smoothly, and Johns, who were attending court at Waynesville. Any one of the three is too clearly

[37] Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 124.
[38] Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 125.
[39] Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 126.
[40] Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 125.
[41] Arthur, *Western North Carolina,* 128-129.

delineated, too painstakingly sketched, too realistically drawn to have come springing from the romantic mind of Strange. Their prankishness, irresponsibility, drunkenness, and legal ignorance are insulting beyond good taste; and it is surprising that Strange did not consider more deeply the indelicacy of such judiciary abuse, especially coming from magistrate to advocates. The real names of Rowell, Smoothly, and Johns are lost in history, for the character studies are far too brief for identification. But that they were well-known travelling lawyers at the time of the publication of *Eoneguski* is undoubted; that they must have been highly resentful of the personal blast which they received, even in a book of fiction, is unquestionable.

Two other characters are apparently taken from living models, the traitor Thompson and the blacksmith-physician Jonathan Wooddie, but their identity is lost too. However, sufficient damage had been done. North Carolinians have never been quite tolerant of the creative writer who makes too free use of his local materials, and sincerity has often been mistaken for calumny. Commenting on Strange and his public, Archibald Henderson remarks: "He wrote the first authentic and interesting novel, based on actual incidents, with scenes laid in North Carolina, ever published; but it was, like Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel,* so critical of certain prominent citizens, easily identifiable from the but slightly veiled names, that it brought down upon him a storm of obloquy and was recalled by him from circulation."[42]

From such causes, this romantic novel of rousing historical events and unusual materials was, from the beginning, doomed to misunderstanding and eventual indifference and oblivion. To Strange's uncomfortable political situation in Washington and in North Carolina was added the most certain condemnation by those whom he had used as his models. It is surprising that *Eoneguski* was ever published at all. Yet published it was, and with the high hopes of its author, if one is to judge from the tenor of the contract which Strange had so carefully drawn up.

Strange must have waited impatiently to learn the verdict of the reviewers who would signal his success. But peculiarly

[42] *Greensboro Daily News,* June 15, 1941. The possibility that Strange recalled the volume from circulation is debatable and will be discussed below.

enough, *Eoneguski* seems not to have come to the attention of many critics. The *Democratic Review,* monthly political and literary journal published in Washington, was encouraging in its praise but not enthusiastic:

> Fame as she is for political miracles, the city of Washington has never until the present occasion produced the literary wonder of a novel. [43] This preëminence, certainly, even if it had no other merit, would entitle Eoneguski to some notice at our hands. It is an Indian Story, of which the scenery and characters are alike original and new to fiction. The light of romance and imagination streaming over the picturesque scenery and old story of the North, South, East and West, has already kindled a shrine for the fancy and affections in every star of the old thirteen, save and except North Carolina, and even most of the new sisters of our national constellation have had the romance or the legend hunter on the banks of their haunted rivers, and over the broad expanse of their vast prairies and in the depths of their eternal forests. But North Carolina no longer presents the solecism of exception, and in the novel before us the author has showed, and that really well, that she possesses not merely materials of romance rich and sterling as her native gold, but pens capable of delineating them with adequate power. We are not disposed to look on Eoneguski on this account with the same expectation and critical scrutiny that would be excited by a work where the "clearing" had been made and the soil perfected by the husbandman's art. There is merit in having led the way in such a path—in being the pioneer in an untried region, and if there were even fewer passages of feeling, descriptive beauty and interesting narrative than are to be found scattered with no sparing hand over these volumes, we should be inclined to forgive and forget even greater faults than they possess for the good service done by them in directing attention to a sphere so interesting. . . .

After a complimentary mention of the introductory passage with a quotation from it, the reviewer then gives a synopsis of the plot.

> As might be anticipated, a story such as this affords many opportunities for fine descriptive and narrative writing, of which the author, indeed, has not failed to avail himself, in proof of which we might instance the interview between Tecumseh, who has been introduced with signal effect, and Eoneguski, in the second volume page 155, and the battle already alluded to, where General Jackson drowned in blood the last remnant of the hostile Indians.
>
> One thing is abundantly certain, that the present work is a first attempt at this species of composition, and it contains

[43] On this score the reviewer is inaccurate. A novel called *What Is Gentility?* by Mrs. Margaret Bayard Smith (1778-1844) was published in Washington in 1828.

elements of power that a second trial may bring effectively into play. We trust the accomplished author will make this attempt and that the public will give him the best encouragement to do so, by their liberal patronage of the present effort.[44]

Reviews similar to this might have been expected in the other principal literary journals of the day, but *Eoneguski* seems not to have been called to their attention. Only a neglectful publisher would be responsible for such failure in distribution. Meanwhile, in North Carolina the novel apparently was also inadequately administered. A notice, titled simply "Eoneguski," appeared in the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury) on February 23, 1839:

We have had great pleasure in perusing a new novel bearing this name, lately issued from the press of Peter Force, at Washington City, which we think possesses literary merit of a very high order. The scene is laid in the Western part of North Carolina, embracing parts of the counties of Wilkes, Buncombe, Haywood, Macon, and the new county of Cherokee. The sketches of scenery are in a remarkable degree beautiful, distinct and true. The characters are strongly marked, and in good keeping, while the incidents of the tale are most interesting. The sentiments are of a fine philosophical cast, and of a high moral tendency. The illustrations are apt and classical. We dislike to make comparisons, but if thorough interest and deep felt delight be any test, in this matter, we think this work need fear no contrast with Cooper's very best. In our immediate circle, it has been seized and devoured with an eagerness, that affords at least, some prefiguring of success: We mean (if we can again lay hands on it) to give some extracts to prove what we say.

The author of Eoneguski is surely a gentleman of taste, learning and talent.[45]

The enthusiasm evinced in this announcement is an indication of the potential popularity of the book, and there is no mention from the editor of the *Carolina Watchman* that he recognized any indelicacy in character portrayals. More important is the inference, from the wording of the article, that the copy of *Eoneguski* which the editor had been "perusing" was not, apparently, one which had been sent him for review purposes but one which he could not now "lay hands on" in order to reprint certain "ex-

[44] *Democratic Review*, V (March, 1839), 340-342.

[45] The *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette* of March 18, 1839, and the *Fayetteville Observer* of March 20, 1839, copied this notice, simply citing the *Watchman*. It was reprinted in *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), July 28, 1940, as an item of historical curiosity.

tracts."[46] Furthermore, the *Fayetteville Observer* in Strange's own community and the *Raleigh Register* in the state capital were reduced, since they had received no copies of their own, to a copying from the *Watchman.* The other newspapers in North Carolina at the time simply ignored the appearance of the novel entirely. An enterprising publisher, if he were sufficiently energetic, would never have permitted such indifference, for the papers of that day were only too pleased to give notice to all books sent to them.

Nevertheless, some four months after the publication of *Eoneguski,* all seems to have been progressing somewhat satisfactorily. In a letter dated July 6, 1839, Strange wrote to Peter Force:

> With all who have seen it in the State of North Carolina, it has taken beyond my most sanguine hopes, and one gentleman of fine taste has gone so far as to declare it superior to Cooper's best.[47]

There is no evidence here that reprisals had set in. As a matter of fact, it was quite the opposite. It must have been some time afterwards that difficulties developed. Just what the explicit nature of these difficulties was, cannot be determined. However, we have Strange's sanction of the view that it was due to deficient treatment by his publisher that *Eoneguski* never reached its possible public. In Strange's biography, published in 1852, appears this single statement concerning the novel:

> While in the Senate he published a novel called Eonyguskee, which competent judges praised as a work of merit, but through mismanagement on the part of his publishers, it never obtained an extensive circulation in North Carolina, though the edition has long since been sold out.[48]

This report, whether accurate or not, is the one which Strange wished to be believed; it is even quite likely that he wrote the

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[46] On March 22, 1839, the *Carolina Watchman,* under the heading LITERARY, gave three full columns of quotations from *Eoneguski.* The first quotation was "Atha Aymor's Song" beginning "Love slily weaves his flow'ry chain," the second a prose extract called by the *Watchman* INTERVIEW BETWEEN TECUMSEH, THE SHAWNEE, AND EONEGUSKI, THE CHEROKEE CHIEF. Carrying out his previous promise to his readers, the editor of the Salisbury paper thus provided them with some of the best portions of the novel.

[47] Manuscript insertion in copy 2 of *Eoneguski,* University of North Carolina Library.

[48] Livingstone, *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Lawyers,* 108.

account himself. At any rate, it had received his approval, for he had authenticated the proofs.[49]

By the time Strange had been dead many years, however, the notion that the book had been suppressed had gained credulity. This conviction seems first to have been expressed by Silas McDowell, the "Mr. McDonald" of *Eoneguski,* in a letter to L. C. Draper,[50] dated June 17, 1873:

This book was suppressed, not for want of litterary and statistic merits, but because the Judge handled without gloves popular men in Western Carolina in relation to their treatment of the Cherokee Indians. Though his book perished mainly, a few copies got afloat and worked all the damage to his popularity that the issue of thousands would have effected. . . . It would give me pleasure if I could procure and send you a copy of Judge *Strange's Yona Gusta,* as it abounds in valuable Indian legend and tradition, and its suppression is a loss to the literary world.[51]

In answer to further inquiry concerning Yonaguska and the novel centered about him, McDowell wrote Draper a few months later on October 8:

Strange showed want of discretion in the getting up of his book, by which he politically damned himself; and though the fact was pointed out to him by his friends before his book was generally issued, yet not before his publisher had let slip an half dozen copies, and these proved his political ruin. The only copy I ever saw was loaned me by Dr. *Hardy*[52] of Asheville more than thirty years ago, and I much question if there is the first copy now extant.[53]

As McDowell was seventy-eight at the time he wrote Draper this information and admitted that he was drawing upon his memory for the data he was imparting, it would be unjust to

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[49] Letter from J. W. Strange to his brother Robert, dated from Myrtle Hill, February 27, 1852. "Papa has been caught in a perfect Yankee trap respecting the publishing of his Memoir since he has sent it and his likeness on I have forward to Papa accompanying the proof sheet a letter stating that he the editor had forgotten to state that he would be obliged to draw on Papa to the small amount of $110 to cover the expenses of the publication I would see the concern in Jerico before I would be traped in that way if they had intimated any thing of of the kind at first it would have been an other matter but after several letters has passed between them and indeed after he had stricken off the proof sheet he suddenly awoke with the cry of $110 to defray expenses I am afraid that Papa will send the Money. . . ." Robert Strange Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

[50] Lyman Copeland Draper (1815-1891), author of *King's Mountain and its Heroes* (1881) and secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1854-1886.

[51] North Carolina Papers, Draper MS, State of Wisconsin Historical Society, KK 57.

[52] Dr. J. F. E. Hardy (1802-1882), physician and landscape architect of Asheville.

[53] Draper MS, KK 68.

credit him with complete accuracy. Indeed, occasional slips from exactness can be noted throughout the letters. Nevertheless, in a matter of this sort, where McDowell is not dealing with facts, we cannot doubt that at least this version of the fate of *Eoneguski* was the one which he had heard and which was current in those years when the novel was being read and discussed.

In 1895 Shephen B. Weeks, the noted North Carolina bibliographer, quoted somewhat inaccurately[54] those portions of McDowell's letter of June 17 concerning the novel's suppression because of the manner in which Strange had handled "popular men in Western Carolina in relation to their treatment of the Cherokee Indians." Later he appended this note:

> But this hardly seems reasonable for there is nothing in the story with which all students are not perfectly familiar & there is little denunciation of the whites. It is more probable that offence was caused by the biting references to the manners & customs of the early settlers as portrayed in the court scenes in Waynesville.
>
> The story is written in the didactic style of the Eighteenth Centure &, while full of romantic situations with plenty of action, its verve & local color do not redeem it from dullness.[55]

Even if one does not agree with Weeks's opinion as to the readability of *Eoneguski,* the cause he gave for its possible suppression appears more logical. But Weeks's addendum was never published, and subsequent commentators have relied, for the most part, on the McDowell extract.

In 1919 William K. Boyd wrote:

> The relation between the state and the Cherokee Indians was the theme for a novel by Senator Robert Strange, entitled "Eoneguski" (2 vols., 1839) ; because of severe criticisms of the treatment of the Indians by prominent white men of western North Carolina, the book was suppressed.[56]

In 1928 Theodore F. Davidson echoed these sentiments:

> Its literary merit is not high, but as a picture of the time, region and population it is invaluable. For some of his portrayals of

[54] *A Bibliography of Historical Literature of North Carolina* (Cambridge: Library of Harvard University, 1895), 49.

[55] Bibliography of North Carolina. Uncompleted MS in the North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina Library.

[56] *History of North Carolina* (Chicago and New York: Lewis, 1919), II, 385.

prominent white settlers, he was much criticized, and he called in and suppressed further issues of his book. The original issue is now out of print, but is an interesting remnant of the traditions of the time and the people.[57]

In 1941 the fullest treatment of the novel since its publication was made by Archibald Henderson:

The novel, written in a somewhat emotional and exalted style, is nevertheless a realistic exposé of the relations between the whites and the Indians. A number of the characters are drawn from real life, the prototypes being but thinly distinguished ("Aymor" for Love, etc.) ; and the author does not mince matters in his caustic depiction of some of the leading early settlers, their callously cruel treatment of the Cherokee, and rude frontier court scenes at Waynesville. The people, and some of their popular leaders, who were thus exhibited in a far-from-flattering light, registered vehement public protest; and in consequence the author suppressed the novel. *Eoneguski,* which is now very rare, is valuable for its local color and the "candid camera" literary snapshots of local characters, manners and customs along a rough frontier.[58]

To marshall all these opinions into presenting a clear picture of just what happened is not an easy task, and it is regrettable that additional documentary evidence is not available. Yet, somehow, a clear picture emerges, even from the data which we have.

To begin with, Strange was immensely curious about Indian legends and traditions. While a superior court judge in western North Carolina, he had an opportunity to collect abundant material which was later used in writing his novel. His sensitive nature reacted against the tragic circumstances which he saw enveloping the "noble savages," and his romantic mind envisioned them the victims of political maneuvers and rapacious backwoodsmen. Too faithful to his materials, he allowed himself excessive liberty in portrayals where his imagination was insufficient. In addition to this *faux pas,* he satirized rather unmercifully those habitués of the western North Carolina law courts whom he disliked. When the novel was completed, Strange's desire for literary recognition was such that he proceeded with publication in spite of a difficult political situation in which he

[57] *Reminiscences and Traditions of Western North Carolina,* 10.
[58] *North Carolina. The Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis, 1941), II, 690.

had become involved. He let his contract to a publisher who was unfamiliar with the issuance of books of fiction and who apparently made little effort to promote a wide sale. The first reviews were encouraging; but as soon as the identity of certain characters was established and when the un-Democratic nature of his presentation of the Indian problem was discerned, a reaction set in. This reaction may have been sufficiently serious for Strange to have desired no further distribution of the book. The otiosity of an indifferent publisher seemingly made such a move unnecessary. Thus *Eoneguski* went quickly out of circulation because of a publisher's apathy and an author's apprehension.

To a person of Strange's sanguine temperament, however, the ill luck of his first novel offered no resignation. Two years before his death and more than a decade after the publication of *Eoneguski* and his retirement from the Senate, he wrote his son concerning those deep-rooted political and literary aspirations which were in conflict with his practice of law:

> I am really very desirous to be elected to the Senate and devote my life so far as secular matters are concerned to politics and literature. In literary pursuits I should be as happy as this world can make me. But in our . . . and dry technical profession I feel no interest.[59]

But Strange was never to write another novel. Only *Eoneguski* remains by which to judge the first North Carolina novelist. It is a creditable production; but the rarity of the book, ever since its publication, has prevented its deserved familiarity and appropriate regard by the average reader of books. If it did not possess the rather questionable virtues of exciting scenes, romantic encounters, and last-minute escapes, which are so multitudinous in the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and William Gilmore Simms, with whose novels *Eoneguski* cannot escape comparison, it does present an honest story in an honest fashion. Perhaps it was too sincere in its presentation for the readers of its day, who were trained to expect a bevy of romantic heroes and wilting heroines as well as a full share of snapped-twig climaxes. It is a straightforward narrative, for the most part based on actual

[59] Letter to Robert Strange, Jr., dated January 17, 1852, from Raleigh. Robert Strange Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

people and events. More than a century of time has not dimmed its appeal, and now more than ever, when there is a great interest in the American aborigines and in the early history of North Carolina, *Eoneguski* seems to deserve a popular reading which it was not destined to have in the lifetime of its author. The history of indigenous fiction in North Carolina did indeed begin on a high note.

BASES FOR A MECKLENBURG BIBLIOGRAPHY

By CHAMBERS G. DAVIDSON

One of the primary reasons for the dearth of county bibliographies, useful as they admittedly are, is the difficulty in delimitation. If they include everything in any way pertaining to the locality the compiler loses interest and the user loses direction. It is not necessary that such bibliographies be all-inclusive to be serviceable. There are at least four logical bases for delimiting a county bibliography. Mecklenburg is here chosen as an example. Owing to the early emphasis of the Scotch-Irish, who settled the county, on education and to the controversy over the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, the county is a gold mine for the bibliographer and the collector. The outline here suggested, it is believed, can be effectively applied to any county in the state.

I

Perhaps the most difficult basis for a county bibliography would be the most challenging, that is, a chronological list of all local imprints. Mecklenburg was comparatively late in setting up a press. Salisbury in Rowan began printing in the 1790's and Lincolnton, even further west, by 1800.[1] The earliest recorded Mecklenburg imprint is advertised in the *Catawba Journal* (Charlotte, N. C.) of March 15, 1825: *Strictures on a piece written by Mr. David Henkel, entitled Heavenly Flood of Regeneration, or Treatise of Holy Baptism* by Joseph Moore, V.D.M. Price 25¢. "Just published and for sale at this office in pamphlet form." No copy of this has been located in the North Carolina libraries which might be expected to own it nor through the Library of Congress Union Catalog. There are, however, copies of David Henkel's reply, which leaves no doubt that the original pamphlet was printed.

The earliest extant Charlotte imprint is *A Sermon on Atonement* by Samuel C. Caldwell, A.M., the pastor of Sugaw Creek Church. This was advertised in the *Catawba Journal* during August, 1825, and a copy is owned by the Presbyterian Histori-

[1] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints 1749-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1938), 145-146, 164.

cal Society in Philadelphia. It is a pamphlet of eighteen pages. Pastor Caldwell was a notable revivalist who made a name for himself combatting the deistic heresy of the latter eighteenth century.[2]

It is odd that no publications from the semi-centenary celebration of the Mecklenburg Declaration have come to light. There are accounts in the *Catawba Journal* of 1825 but no reference to the printing of separates. The famous "state pamphlet," *Documents Shewing That Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Declared Her Independence of Great Britain, May 20, 1775,* was, of course, printed at Raleigh in 1822.

Both the Moore and Caldwell pamphlets were printed by Lemuel Bingham, editor of the weekly *Catawba Journal.* This journal began publication in Charlotte with the issue of October 4, 1824, and continued until 1829 when it was moved to Salisbury and rechristened *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal.* Lemuel Bingham was the James Davis of Mecklenburg. His imprints have not yet attained the "collectors' pride" of those of the founder of the North Carolina press but they have almost attained their rarity. Major Bruce Cotten of Baltimore, owner of the best private collection of North Caroliniana, highly prizes one of 1826: *Questions on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, Designed to Assist the Youth in Acquiring a Knowledge of the Doctrines Taught in that Compend* by A. Anderson.[3]

From 1825 on the newspaper presses issued pamphlets for individuals, societies, and institutions. The most prolific printer was Thomas Jefferson Holden, publisher or part owner successively of *The Miners and Farmers Journal, The Charlotte Journal,* and *The North Carolina Whig.* Holden was a Virginian but made his home in Charlotte from sometime in the 1820's until his death in 1860. After his death his wife edited the *North Carolina Whig* for two years during the Civil War and has been credited with being the first newspaper woman in North Carolina.[4]

Other ante-bellum presses in Charlotte were those of the *Mecklenburg Jeffersonian* (established 1841), the *Hornets Nest*

[2] William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York, 1846), 248.
[3] Bruce Cotten, *Housed on the Third Floor* (Baltimore, 1941), plate LIV.
[4] D. A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte, from 1740 to 1903* (Charlotte, 1903), II, 73-74.

(1849), The *Western Democrat* (1852), and the *Daily Bulletin* (1859), and the rare Tobacco Leaf and Cotton Plant Printing House of 1860. None of the ante-bellum presses, not even the Hornets Nest, appear to have used a colophon on pamphlets. It is asserted on competent authority that Charlotte had also the *Presbyterian Standard* (1858) press before the Civil War.[5] This, however, is erroneous as that periodical began publication as *The North Carolina Presbyterian* (1858) in Wilmington. Mecklenburg County, including Davidson College, had no magazine until after the war. In fact, only thirty magazines have been found for the entire state before 1860.[6]

After the Civil War, Mecklenburg imprints multiplied rapidly. James P. Irwin and D. H. Hill published *The Land We Love* (1866-1869) in attractive format. This monthly, "Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts," became the organ of the unreconstructed rebels and is a *sine qua non* for any southern collection. Smith, Watson and Company published *The Davidson Monthly* (1870-1872), the first, though short-lived, of the many periodicals from that institution.

The Observer Printing House (not the *Charlotte Observer* newspaper press) was founded in 1893 and began producing creditable books immediately. There is no record at their office of the first book printed. This house maintains a complete plant, operating linotype department, typesetting and make-up department, press rooms, and bindery. At present it handles about fifty publications per year.[7]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Stone and Barringer Publishing Company issued a number of unusually attractive volumes. Some of them, like the anonymous *Marguerite,* approached the elaborate formate of the ante-bellum gift-book. The printing in most cases, however, was not locally done. Today Charlotte has at least eighteen active presses, but no publishing house.

II

A second basis for a Mecklenburg bibliography would be a "native son" limitation. Only books by or about Mecklenburgers

[5] Winifred Gregory, ed., *Union List of Serials, Second Edition* (New York, 1943), 2257.
[6] Gertrude C. Gilmer, *Checklist of Southern Periodicals to 1860* (Boston, 1934), 90-91.
[7] W. J. Crichton, Jr., General Manager Observer Printing House, to the author, April 1, 1946.

born would be included, but where they were written or printed would be of no significance. The first publication, as far as is known, which belongs to this class was written by James Wallis, the pastor of New Providence Presbyterian congregation, and was printed by Abraham Hodge in Halifax, N. C., in 1797. It was a booklet of 115 pages with the modest title:

The Bible Defended; being an Investigation of the Misrepresentations and Falsehoods of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, Part the Second; wherein also the Evidences of Revealed Religion are stated, and the Authenticity and Divine Authority of the several Books of the Bible are vindicated.[8]

The Reverend James Wallis was born in Sugaw Creek congregation, Mecklenburg County, in 1762. He was educated at Liberty Hall Academy in Charlotte and served his entire ministry at New Providence in his native county. Like his brother-in-law, the Reverend S. C. Caldwell, he was in the forefront of the opponents of Deism in the Piedmont. Of his booklet, the Reverend William Henry Foote wrote fifty years later, "He prepared a pamphlet in which were condensed the arguments of Watson, Paley and Leslie, and circulated it among his people and through the country. A pamphlet as well calculated to produce the effect designed —the exhibition of the evidences of revelation in contradistinction to all infidel notions—has seldom been issued from the press."[9]

A collection of all publications by and about Mecklenburgers by birth would form a very extensive library. Those about whom the most has been written did not remain long in Mecklenburg. If, despite Marquis James's conclusions, Mecklenburg and not South Carolina was the birthplace of President Andrew Jackson, a considerable bibliography is provided ready-made. Mr. James lists ten biographies of the president and ten pages of bibliography on works relating to him.[10]

There is no doubt of Mecklenburg's claim to James Knox Polk, although the eleventh president has evoked considerably less enthusiasm from biographers than the seventh. There have been

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[8] McMurtrie, *North Carolina Imprints*, 149.
[9] Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina*, 249.
[10] Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Indianapolis and New York, 1938), 895-905.

only four attempts at life histories and only that by Professor E. I. McCormac, published in 1922, can be said to be adequate.[11] Polk's *Diary* was printed in 1910 in four volumes and there are, of course, numerous studies of the Mexican War which relate to the politics of his administration. The difficulty in compiling a bibliography would come in deciding which of these books relate primarily to the President himself.

The same question of selectivity arises with respect to publications concerning two other of Mecklenburg's outstanding native sons: Governor Nathaniel Alexander and President Edward K. Graham of the State University. In a sense, most of the political publications in North Carolina during the years 1805-1807 relate to the former and most of the University's publications of 1914-1918 to the latter. Of neither has a full length biography yet appeared and neither published books.[12]

In the field of divinity any list of Mecklenburg luminaries should include Dr. Walter W. Moore (1857-1926), president of Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. Although born in the county and educated at Davidson College, he lived in Virginia during the period of his literary productivity. His numerous writings, books and articles, and the many publications of the Presbyterian Church concerned with him would form a major part of a collection based on "native sons." Union Seminary published recently an exhaustive biography by Dr. J. Gray McAllister, containing a critical appraisal of his books but unfortunately no bibliography of other writings.[13]

Unlike Dr. Moore, John Van Alstyn Weaver (1893-1938) left the county before his education began. He was reared in Chicago, was educated in New York, and lived in Connecticut and Hollywood. His Charlotte connections were those of his mother's people, the Tates, and his Hollywood connections those of his wife, the actress Peggy Wood. He was the most versatile of Charlotte's literary sons, the author of ten books, including poetry, novels, and plays.[14]

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[11] J. S. Reeves, reviewer, "James K. Polk, A Political Biography," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1923), 332-334.

[12] President Graham's *Education and Citizenship and Other Papers* was published posthumously in 1919.

[13] J. Gray McAllister, *The Life and Letters of Walter W. More, Second Founder and First President of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia* (Richmond, 1939), 556.

[14] Archibald Henderson, "John Weaver, A Poet of the People," *The Charlotte Observer*, June 24, 1928.

These are the outstanding figures of the past and include all who either produced or inspired extensive works. There are others who wrote in sufficient quantity to rank as "authors" but on subjects of limited interest, for example, the "literary Alexanders:" Dr. John Brevard with three books and his brother the Rev. Samuel Caldwell with at least four.

Of present day Mecklenburg-born writers, including all ministers and members of college faculties, the number is large and the individuals are widely scattered. Only the journalists H. E. C. Bryant and LeGette Blythe are native born of the writers of reputation now residing in the county; but the volumes of *Who's Who in America* contain not a few names well known for writing in their professional fields which are followed by "b. Charlotte, N. C." or the smaller Mecklenburg communities.

If the accident of birth is arbitrarily taken as a criterion for "Mecklenburg authors," the county can claim a galaxy of notables.

III

Neither of these bases, imprints by local printers or authorship by native sons, satisfactorily reflects the literary life of the county. How important this is depends, of course, on the objectives of the bibliographer, but there is no doubt that a complete record of writings by persons who were residents of the county at the time would be of considerable significance to the literary historian. Of all bases for "Mecklenburgiana" this would require the most research. It is not easy to determine which books and pamphlets were written by Mecklenburg residents except in those rare instances where the author obligingly provides his address in the preface.

The first resident author was apparently the same as the first native son to break into print. The Reverend James Wallis published several pamphlets in addition to the booklet already mentioned. By modern standards he was narrow-minded and provincial but his work shows the vigor of the frontier that Mecklenburg then was.

There should be earlier publications by residents, but if so they have completely disappeared. It would seem that in founding Queens College in the 1770's faculty members or trustees would

have issued announcements or addresses. A few years later Dr. Ephraim Brevard brilliantly expressed Mecklenburg's Revolutionary sentiments but none of his writings have survived as pamphlets. Dr. Alexander MacWhorter, one of the leading colonial divines of the Presbyterian Church, came to Charlotte during the Revolution as president of the college and there are in existence two octavo volumes of his sermons but there is no evidence that any of them were composed or published while he was a citizen of the county.[15]

The first resident authors were presumably the Presbyterian ministers. After the Revolution almost all of them had at least one prize sermon printed in pamphlet form, and a few, like the Rev. H. B. Cunningham of Hopewell (1843-1855), had many. The president and professors of Davidson College, over half of whom were ordained ministers, published numerous pamphlet addresses.

An exception to the clerical calling was Professor D. H. Hill, later Confederate general, who wrote two books on theology and an algebra text for his Davidson students. The last is of special interest as its problems are worded in such a way as to show the strong sectional feeling of the author. For example, "A Yankee mixes a certain number of wooden nutmegs, which cost him ¼ cent apiece, with a quantity of real nutmegs, worth 4 cents apiece, and sells the whole assortment for $44; and gains $3.75 by the fraud. How many wooden nutmegs were there?"[16]

Few, if any, of the May 20th orations surviving in print seem to have been delivered by resident orators. The principal speaker was almost invariably an out-of-town guest. The same is true of the annual addresses delivered before the Eumenean and Philanthropic literary societies at Davidson.

No novels, volumes of verse, or collected essays are known from Mecklenburg before 1865. During and after the Civil War, Charlotte was the home of Mrs. Fanny Murdaugh Downing, the city's first novelist. Mrs. Downing was a native of Virginia and came to Charlotte about 1862 to escape the northern army in her home city. She remained until 1869 during which time she wrote a great deal for General Hill's *Land We Love*. Her novel, *Name-*

[15] "Alexander McWhorter, D.D.," *Annals of the American Pulpit*, W. B. Sprague, ed., III (New York, 1860), 208-215.
[16] D. H. Hill, *Elements of Algebra* (Philadelphia, 1859), 124.

less, was published in Raleigh in 1865 and is the first known book of fiction by a resident author. The setting is English, not American, and reflects the southerner's interest in "life at court" in Europe. Its literary value is slight.[17]

The first volume of verse has not been identified unless it be also the work of Mrs. Downing. In 1867 her pamphlet *Pluto: The Origin of Mint Julep* was printed in Raleigh. It is a narrative poem, filling thirty-five pages and being "the sad story and lamentable fate of the fair Minthe." A contemporary critic characterizes it as "full of fine hits, sly humour and playful fancy, with no want of genuine fire."[18]

By the close of the nineteenth century, Mecklenburg was the home of an industrious school of local historians and biographers. Dr. J. B. Alexander, native son, locally educated, published three volumes of Mecklenburg history. Daniel A. Tompkins, a South Carolinian by birth, became the outstanding industrial leader of Charlotte and through his controlling interest in the *Charlotte Observer* the titular author of a two-volume history of the city and county as well as several books on cotton. An excellent biography of Tompkins, under the title of *A Builder of the New South* (1920), was written by Dr. G. L. Winston. Shortly after the publication of Tompkins history, there appeared *Charlotte in Picture and Prose* (1906) by Miss Julia M. Alexander who has since that date collected materials for a more complete history than has yet appeared.

Of the biographers, Mary Anna (Mrs. "Stonewall") Jackson published a life of her husband in 1892 and of her daughter, Julia Jackson Christian, in 1910. Clement Dowd's *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* was printed in Charlotte in 1897. Julia M. Alexander wrote *Mothers of Great Men* (1916). Book length memoirs have appeared by Dr. J. B. Alexander (1908), Mrs. John Van Landingham (1922), Mr. J. B. Ivey (1941), and Dr. W. L. Lingle (1947).

Presidents John B. Shearer and Walter L. Lingle of Davidson College lead the list in volume with respect to religious subjects. Dr. Shearer had the Presbyterian Committee of Publication in Richmond, Va., issue eight volumes of his writings. Their circu-

[17] James Wood Davidson, *The Living Writers of the South* (New York, 1869), 156-170.
[18] Davidson, *Living Writers,* 157. No earlier publication of Mecklenburg verse is listed in Father Placid's *Bibliography of North Carolina Poetry* (Belmont, 1934).

lation has been limited. President Lingle has five books (one a revision) and over twenty-five pamphlets to his credit. Several of Dr. Lingle's writings have been printed also in foreign languages.

It was during the opening decade of the present century that Charlotte experienced its first flowering of belletristic literature. Mrs. Downing, though a resident, had been an exotic. Under the editorship of Joseph P. Caldwell, the *Charlotte Observer* produced a group of young journalists of exceptional talent.[19] The writings of three of these were deemed worthy of preservation in book form.

Issac Erwin Avery came of the distinguished Morganton Averys. His preparation for a literary career began with the editorship of the college paper at old Trinity College, took him to Shanghai as secretary to the American consul, and landed him as city editor of the *Observer* at the age of thirty. His book, *Idle Comments* (Charlotte, 1905), was published after his death less than four years later. For this volume selections from his writings were made by a committee including Edwin Mims and C. Alphonso Smith. The settings of the selections are chiefly local.

John Charles McNeill was a native of Scotland County, a graduate of Wake Forest College, a lawyer by profession and a poet by preference. When offered a place on the staff of the *Observer* he gave up the law and devoted the remainder of his short life to writing. *Songs Merry and Sad* (Charlotte, 1906) won for him the Patterson Memorial Cup. His second volume, *Lyrics from Cotton Land* (Charlotte, 1922), was published posthumously and contains the best of his Negro dialect verse.

H. E. C. ("Red Buck") Bryant, the third of the triumvirate, was born in Mecklenburg, was educated at the state university, became distinguished in journalism in Charlotte and Washington, D. C., and is today writing his memoirs. In 1910 the Stone and Barringer Company published his *Tar Heel Tales* which have been favorably compared with Joel Chandler Harris's dialect stories. While all of North Carolina is its field, the flavor of Mecklenburg is marked in this volume.

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[19] H. E. C. Bryant, *Joseph Pearson Caldwell, 1853-1911* (Statesville, 1933), *passim.*

After the deaths of Avery and McNeill and the removal of Bryant to Washington, Charlotte suffered a twenty-year recession of creative literary activity. Industry throve, but literature lagged.

During the 1930's, however, the presence of Cameron Shipp, Mrs. Marian Sims, Tim Pridgen, and LeGette Blythe made Charlotte again the literary center of the Piedmont. The last three have had works of fiction issued by national publishers. In addition to these have been several highly creditable one-book authors, as Mary Bledsoe *(Shadows Slant North)*, W. J. Cash *(The Mind of the South)* and Marion Hargrove *(See Here, Private Hargrove)*.

IV

A fourth basis for a Mecklenburg bibliography would be writings whose subject matter relates to the city and county. To the writer this would be the most interesting basis of selection.

The first publication in this category is again theological. In 1794 there was printed by William Young in Philadelphia *A Sermon, on the Doctrine and Duty of Sacrificing; First Delivered at an Ordination in New-Providence, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Feb. 2, 1792* . . . by the Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle, D. D. Pastor of the Church at Thyatira and Salisbury, in Rowan County, North Carolina.[20] This is the first known "separate" as distinguished from periodical articles, with Mecklenburg County as its subject, though the Reverend Dr. McCorkle was neither a resident nor a native of the county. Newspapers, north and south, had printed accounts of Mecklenburg's Revolutionary resolutions during the year 1775,[21] but no separates were issued.

The most satisfactory system for classifying a bibliography based on subject matter is perhaps according to literary form. No attempt will be made to evaluate these productions as literature except as they reflect the life and morés of Mecklenburg.

Fiction. Novels with Mecklenburg settings are not new. In 1886 E. R. Roe published *The Hornets' Nest*, a juvenile relating to the period of the Revolution. Miss Sallie Dickson's *Ralph Fabian's Mistakes* appeared in 1908 and is concerned with college life and morals at Davidson. LeGette Blythe's *Alexandriana*

[20] Copy at Duke University.
[21] W. H. Hoyt, *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* (New York York, 1907), 81-82.

(1940) revolves around the Mecklenburg Declaration of 1775. H. E. C. ("Red Buck") Bryant's *Tar-Heel Tales* (1910) are Negro dialect stories mostly from Mecklenburg. Modern Charlotte is arrestingly interpreted in the novels of Marian Sims particularly *Call it Freedom* (1937), which treats of divorce in a conservative community, and *The City on the Hill* (1940), a story of municipal corruption.

Essays and Poetry. The books of Issac Erwin Avery and Mrs. John Van Landingham might be classified as essays with a Mecklenburg setting but this form has not been highly developed. There is no volume of verse concerned with the city or county, although numerous poems on the Mecklenburg Declaration[22] and some on the Catawba River have appeared in collections.

Orations and Sermons. Only publications in these fields on occasions of local moment or relating to historical events would be included. The Mecklenburg Declaration, on which subject most of them occur, is sufficiently distinctive to deserve a separate classification. See section below. In addition, there are anniversary addresses for various institutions and societies.

Biographies and Memoirs. Book-length biographies about, and incidentally by, Mecklenburgers have appeared for Governor Z. B. Vance, Major John Davidson, and Editor J. P. Caldwell. There are life histories of Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Daniel A. Tompkins, and James B. Duke which emphasize their Mecklenburg connections and should be included. The more extensive writers have been mentioned above.

History. This would include the several histories of the city and county previously listed and the excellent *Guide to the Queen City* (1939) of the W.P.A. Writers Project. There are already beginnings for institutional histories, *e.g.*, for colleges Cornelia Shaw's *Davidson College* (1929) and for churches Carrie L. McLean's *First Baptist Church* (1917) and Dr. C. W. Sommerville's *Hopewell* (1939). Most of the other historic churches have pamphlet resumés of their records. For the professions there is only Dr. C. M. Strong's *Mecklenburg County Medicine* (1929).

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[22] Typescript collection of Mecklenburg Declaration verse in the library of Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.

The Peter Stewart Ney mystery, which concerns Mecklenburg along with other Piedmont counties, is becoming almost as publicized as the Mecklenburg Declaration controversy. Three books have appeared on the subject all favoring the thesis that Peter Stewart Ney was, in fact, the noted marshal of Napoleon. The first, Dr. James A. Weston's *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney* (1895) presented most of the significant data. Dr. James E. Smoot's *Marshal Ney Before and After Execution* (1929) is chiefly an attempt to buttress the earlier findings. The mystery was popularized by LeGette Blythe's best-seller *Marshal Ney: A Dual Life* (1937). Other books less favorable to the popular proposition are at present pending publication.[23]

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. The literature on the Mecklenburg Declaration is voluminous enough to form a small library by itself. Of the scores of pamphlets the first was the "state pamphlet" referred to above as printed in Raleigh in 1822. Almost from that day to this the subject has been up for debate. Another state pamphlet appeared in 1831. Among the pre-Civil War addresses there are extant in print those by Franklin L. Smith (1835), Cyrus Johnston (1847), R. M. Saunders (1852), and D. L. Swain (1853).

Books on the subject began with Jo. Seawell Jones's *Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina* (1834). Hon. William A. Graham's *Address* at the Centennial Celebration allayed effective opposition for a quarter of a century. At the beginning of the twentieth century three comprehensive treatises appeared, Dr. G. W. Graham's in 1905 (pro), W. H. Hoyt's in 1907 (con), and J. H. Moore's in 1908 (pro).

For over one hundred years publications of some sort—pageants, programs, invitations, addresses—have appeared almost annually for May 20th in Charlotte, but no comprehensive bibliography has been compiled and no distinguished collection assembled.[24]

The purpose of this paper is not to argue the value of county bibliographies. The need is obvious to all doing serious research.

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[23] Mr. W. H. Hoyt of New York, author of *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*, above cited, is preparing an exhaustive study.

[24] S. B. Weeks, *Bibliography of North Carolina* (Cambridge, 1895), contains an early bibliography based on Lyman C. Draper's Mecklenburg Declaration MS. in the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.

The aim has been to suggest, and illustrate, points of departure from an exhaustive and unorganized compilation. The adoption of any one of the four bases should, it seems to the writer, increase the interest in the work itself and the usefulness of the result.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DAVID OLANDO McRAVEN AND AMANDA NANTZ McRAVEN, 1864-1865

Edited by LOUIS A. BROWN

INTRODUCTION

When North Carolina seceded from the Union on May 21, 1861, David Olando McRaven was just another small plantation owner who lived near the present town of Huntersville (in Mecklenburg County, approximately 19 miles north of Charlotte), North Carolina. McRaven owned about 130 acres of land and two Negro slaves, and he probably hired one or two additional slaves on a yearly basis. He was a respected member of his community and a loyal citizen of the Confederacy. The story of how the Civil War broke into this happy home is found in these letters.

The decline of the Confederate fighting potential, which had perhaps begun at Gettysburg and Vicksburg in July, 1863, reached the point in February, 1864, when it became necessary to draft men for service in the Confederate army who had hitherto been considered either too young or too old.[1] Usually these men assumed duties within their home states and thus relieved men more able physically for duty in the line. Men between seventeen and eighteen years of age were mustered into service and known as junior reserves while men between the ages of forty-five and fifty were known as senior reserves.[2] McRaven, who was forty-eight years old, was mustered into service at Salisbury in July, 1864, and served as a private in company G of the Second Regiment of Reserve later organized into the Fourth Regiment of Reserves (Seventy-third North Carolina) under the command of Colonel John F. Hoke. Colonel Hoke and most of the officers under him had seen service in the field and were recuperating from wounds. This regiment served chiefly at Salisbury guarding prisoners of war.[3]

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[1] *General Orders from Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office, Confederate States Army,* General Order No. 26, 1864 series. See also Walter Clark (editor), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War 1861-'65* (5 vols., Raleigh and Goldsboro, N. C., 1901), IV, 2-4.

[2] A. W. Mangum, "History of the Confederate Military Prison at Salisbury," in Southern Historical Association *Publications,* III (Washington, 1899), 319-20.

[3] Clark, *North Carolina Regiments,* IV, 66-67.

The Salisbury Prison had been established early in the fall of 1861, but was intended to serve only as a detention post for Confederate convicts. Some prisoners of war, however, were detained there in 1861. Early in 1862 the Dix Hill Cartel relieved the prison of most of the prisoners of war. Under terms of the cartel soldiers were either exchanged on the field of battle or, as was more often the case, the prisoners were paroled within ten days and later declared exchanged by a mutual exchange of prisoners.[4] By this means the prison never held an excessive number of prisoners until the late summer of 1864 when General Grant concluded that it was time to cease the exchange of captured soldiers[5] and thus the number of prisoners of war became much larger than the physical facilities of the Salisbury Prison could adequately accomodate. This, along with the declining potential of the Confederacy, explains to some extent the great suffering of the northern prisoners held at Salisbury during the time that McRaven was a guard there.

The significance of these letters lies in the fact that they are documents containing the viewpoint of a prison guard. Probably these are among the few extant records of a guard of Civil War prisoners of war. It is hardly necessary to point out that the attitudes and impressions that are found in these letters are historically reliable. McRaven and his wife never expected their letters to be published and thus they had no reason to express any impression other than their true feeling.

David Olando McRaven (1816-1897) was the grandson of a Scottish immigrant. He was a successful farmer at the time of the war and from all accounts seems to have been a respected and trusted man of his community. He was a member of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church and was considered quite a witty person. In his earlier years he had been a school teacher and this feature of his character may help explain the reason that several dependent women of the community looked to him for business advice. When a post office was established in the community it was he who was appointed its first postmaster, and the post office, known as Craighead, was located in his house. The post office was established in April, 1856, was discontinued

[4] *War of the Rebellion; A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 vols., Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) ser. 2, IV, 266-68.
[5] *Official Records*, ser. 2, VII, 607.

in 1866, was again reestablished in 1870, and in 1873 the name was changed to Huntersville.

Amanda Nantz McRaven (1820-1887) seems to have been a very faithful wife, as these letters reveal. According to her daughter she had attended a school taught by the well-known Peter Stuart Ney, which is probably her chief claim to fame.

The McRaven children consisted of Joseph Johnson (1857-1913), Ellen Isabelle, often referred to as Sis (1860-1924), Mary or Mollie Amanda (1862-1914), and Ester Jane (1864—). Joseph and Molly never married and Ellen married but had no children. Ester Jane married J. Mc. Holbrook and to this union were born four daughters and three sons. They are Ethel, Mack, Jennie, and Mary (Mrs. P. B. Veale), all of Huntersville; John, of Lowell, N. C., Ernest, of High Point, N. C.; and Marguerite, who died in 1943.

Ester Jane McRaven Holbrook still remembers many of the events and impressions of her early life. She can only recall, however, statements that were made later about many of the things which are mentioned in these letters. The significance of these letters, however, appears to lie in the general picture of the life of the Confederacy which they reveal rather than in the small details.

Historically speaking, several questions seem to be reasonably well answered by the letters. Without attempting to evaluate these points in the order of their importance, they may be mentioned briefly.

First, when the casual reader of Civil War history, especially prisoner of war diaries and accounts,[6] reads of the indescribable suffering of the northern prisoners at the Salisbury Confederate Military Prison, he wonders why and how this came about. When this same reader seeks a Confederate explanation for this he discovers that the Confederacy stated that the prisoners were fed and clothed as well as the Confederate guards or soldiers in

[6] These may be considered representative diaries and accounts of the Salisbury Prison. B. F. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion, or Life in Southern Military Prisons giving a correct and thrilling History of Unparalleled Suffering, Narrow Escapes, Heroic Encounters, Bold Achievements, Cold-Blooded Murders, Severe Test of Loyalty and Patrotism* (Indianola, Iowa, 1897); J. H. Browne, *Four Years in Secessia* (Hartford, 1865); Albert D. Richardson, *The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon, and Escape* (Hartford, 1865); Homer B. Sprague, *Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons, A Personal Experience, 1864-65* (New York, 1915); R. H. Kellog, *Life and Death in Rebel Prisons* (Hartford, 1865); and Charles Fosdick, *Five Hundred Days in Rebel Prisons* (Chicago, 1887).

the field.[7] It would seem to the reader that this was impossible because no one could render service as a guard or soldier on the small ration of food and clothing. Also, it would seem improbable that the Confederacy would try to treat prisoners of war as well as its own men in uniform. These letters verify, in a peculiar but significant and completely authentic way, the fact that this statement by the Confederacy was more nearly correct than might at first be believed. The answer to this apparently incongruous situation is that the homes of these men—guards and soldiers—supplied them with food and clothing—as is indicated by these leters.

Another point which is here proved again is that there existed in many cases, a cordial and kindly feeling between master and slave. It is true that in any institution as widely spread as was slavery in the South all kinds of relationships between master and slave existed. The situation found in these letters is not to be considered as necessarily the norm in slave-master relations, but it is an authentic portrayal of one situation in which kindness was the key word instead of hatred. In this case the fidelity seems to be unusual.

The poverty of the Confederacy can be ascertained from tables of statistics but it is not brought as clearly into focus as is the case when one reads confidential letters like these. The operation of the tithe and the impressment order are seen at first hand and there is also found a human—a very human—interpretation of the way an ordinary citizen of the Confederacy felt about these laws. This can only be found in the private correspondence of a contemporary of the Civil War.[8]

July 4, 1864

Amanda I received a few lines from you yesterday you are being yourself about trifles Negroes are hiring very high it is true But 20 Bushels of corn will Bring 400 Dollars so do not vex yourself if you and the children keep well I consider our family blessed and will b thankful tho I would be very glad to go home and see you I still hope that we will get home before very long but it is hard telling when, I will count the loads of corn that

[7] *Acts and Resolutions of the Second Session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, held at Richmond, Va.* (Richmond, 1861) Act No. 181, sec. 1. See also J. William Jones, *Confederate View of the Treatment of Prisoners* (Richmond, 1876), 164.

[8] These letters are now in the possession of Mrs. J. Mc. Holbrook of Huntersville, North Carolina.

Jeff[9] hauled at 10 bu[shels] which will make 300 bushels in all. I wish you would get Joh Beard[10] to lok at the law in regard to the tithe[11] and see if you may not reserve some for fating hogs he will tell you what you should return. Amanda I bought a Large Padlock and sent it home by old Mr. Carrigen he will send it to Dixon Ewart[12] when you get it have it put on the Crib or any place that you think needs it most I gave 12 Dollars for it I could not get any thing of the kind at Charlotte for 3 times the money. . . . I am well and have been employed to help Build a

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[9] Jeff was the trusted Negro slave of the McRaven family. He is referred to as "mother's servant" by McRaven's daughter, Ester Jane. Jeff's wife was named Gilley. Survival of the McRaven family during the absence of McRaven seems to have depended on Jeff and his loyalty. This loyalty seems to have extended beyond the end of the war because Ester Jane, born on November 12, 1864, and still living, remembers Jeff when she was old enough to be walking about in the yard.

[10] John Beard was a brother-in-law of McRaven. He and his wife, Camilla Nantz Beard, lived on an adjoining farm and are often mentioned as needed and trusted relatives and neighbors.

[11] The tithe was in reality a tax law which was one-tenth of most agricultural products. The law was enacted April 24, 1863, and the part of the law which is of interest here is as follows; "Section 11. Each farmer and planter in the Confederate States after reserving for his own use fifty bushels of sweet potatoes and fifty bushels of Irish potatoes, one hundred bushels of the corn, or fifty bushels of the wheat produced in the present year shall pay and deliver to the Confederate government, of the products of the present year, one-tenth of the wheat, corn, oats, rye, buckwheat or rice, sweet and Irish potatoes, and of the cured hay and fodder; also one-tenth of the sugar, molasses made of cane, cotton, wool and tobacco; the cotton ginned and packed in some secure manner, and tobacco shipped and packed in boxes to be delivered by him on or before the first day of March in the next year. Each farmer or planter, after reserving twenty bushels of both, for his own use, shall deliver to the Confederate government, for its use, one-tenth of the peas, beans and ground peas produced and gathered by him during the present year." In case of a dispute concerning the amount of produce, the law provided that three disinterested citizens should be called in to settle the dispute. The law continued, in regard to the delivery of the tithe: "The said producer shall be required to deliver the wheat, corn, oats, rye, buckwheat, rice, peas, beans, cured hay and fodder, sugar, molasses of cane, wool, and tobacco, thus to be paid as a tithe in kind, in such form and ordinary marketable condition as may be usual in the section in which they are to be delivered, and the cotton in such manner as herein before provided, within two months from the time they have been estimated as aforesaid, at some depot not more than eight miles from the place of production, and if not delivered by that time, in such order, he shall be liable to pay fifty per cent more than the estimated value of the portion aforesaid, to be collected by the tax collector as hereinafter prescribed: Provided, the government shall be bound to furnish to the producer sacks for the delivery of such articles of grain as require producer of molasses the cost of the barrels containing the same." References to the operation of this law are to be found in the letters of December 18, January 19 and especially in a letter dated January 26, 1865.

McRaven was inquiring about the law with regard to the fattening of hogs. Section 12 of the same chapter states: "That every farmer, planter, or grazier shall exhibit to the assessor, on or about the first of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, an account of all the hogs he may have slaughtered since the passage of this act and before that time; after the delivery of this estimate to the post quartermaster herein after mentioned by the assessor, and the said farmer, planter or grazier shall deliver an quivalent for one-tenth of the same in cured bacon, at the rate of sixty pounds of bacon to the one hundred weight of pork. That on the first of November next, and each year thereafter, an estimate shall be made, as herein before provided, of the value of all neat cattle, horses, mules not used in cultivation, and asses owned by each person in the Confederate States, to be paid on or before the first day of January next ensuing. . . ." *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America,* First Congress, Session III, chap. 38, sec. 11 and 12.

McRaven implies that both the tithing of corn and of the slaughtered hogs worked unfairly. This is more aptly expressed by Thompson Allen, Commissioner of Taxes, who said in November, 1863: "Numerous complaints have been made on the part of farmers, that no deduction is allowed them in the act for the corn used in fattening their pork. They contend that they should not be subject to the tithe on this corn, inasmuch as they pay it by a tithe on the pork, and if they are required to pay a tithe on the corn upon which the pork is fattened, as well as a tithe of the pork, that they virtually pay a double tax on the corn." *Report of Commissioner of Taxes,* November, 1863. A document accompanying the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.

One reason for a tax in kind, which turned out to be a tithe in kind, is found in a report to Secretary of the Treasury Memminger by Commissioner Allen. He said, "It was, doubtless intended as a substitute for a direct tax on lands and slaves, and to avoid the constitutional objection to such a tax until a census is taken." *Recommendations from Tax Commissioner,* November, 1863, 7.

[12] Dixon Ewart was a trusted and reliable neighbor. Many people mentioned in the letters are neighbors and have no further significance unless they are mentioned in a footnote.

Cabin for the Col Hoke[13] yesterday and to Day and I can sleep at night whilst I am Detailed . . . [illegible] . . . I think the corn in the little crib has lasted long enough if Jeff has fed all the stock and Took corn from there to shell, tell Jeff to save the corn as well as he can it will be very scarce everywhere you husband

D McRaven

Camp near Charlotte
August 1st. 1864

Amanda I have just come of Guard and have time to write you a few lines– we got orders about twelve o clock to go to Greensboro tomorrow[14] I could have gone to see you to night and come back at twelve o clock tomorrow but I thought how hard it was to part with you and let my chance go I intend to not ask for a furlough until the time[15] you told me of and if alive I will come if possible– we have a nice set of officers our Captain is kind and indulgent and a Cristian and prays with us night and morning our whole company is steady men Except a few I am well and doing as well as any one could away from all that is Dear to them I have nothing that I recollect to write to you about except I found John Beard a grisle [?] of corn and if Ester[16] cannot let you have a hand beforehand to help Jeff with the fodder and to gather peas I would rather that Oliver[17] would hire himself another man if he can and stay with you at night You need not write until I write again which I will do as soon as I stop– . . .

D McRaven

Sep 5 1864

Amanda We have just Landed at our camp about 2 miles north of Greensboro I am well and harty our Company could not get on the Cars Last night We left Charlotte this morning I cannot tell where we are going but believe we will stay here and drill for

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[13] Colonel Hoke had been Adjutant General of North Carolina during the early part of the war and had served for a time as colonel of the Twenty-third Regiment. Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 66-67.

[14] "The regiment was ordered to Raleigh 21 August [1864] for service at Wilmington, but was stopped at Greensboro and soon after it was sent to Salisbury where it performed the duties above mentioned [guarding bridges, railroads, and prisoners of war at the Salisbury Prison] till 4 March, 1865, when not being longer needed to guard prisoners, it was placed in the Eighth Congressional District to arrest deserters with regimental headquarters at Salisbury." Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 67. This briefly traces the official whereabouts of McRaven. These facts could be derived from McRaven's letters.

[15] McRaven planned to try to get a furlough about October 20 because that was about the time that the birth of a baby was expected. The baby was born November 12 and was named Ester Jane McRaven.

[16] Ester Smith was a neighbor of the McRaven's who perhaps had inherited some property. At any rate, she did possess a considerable amount of land and a number of slaves. Being unmarried she needed some man to look after her business affairs and this man seems to have been McRaven. She depended on him and trusted him to the extent that she planned to give the baby that was about to be born a Negro man as a servant but this never did materialize. Her sudden death prevented the willing of any land to the child. In exchange for this kindness the McRaven family planned to name the child whatever Ester Smith wished. Since the child was a girl the name of Ester Jane was decided upon. The whole story indicates that the McRavens were kind to Ester Smith and something of the good quality of the McRaven family. Letters directly related to this story are those dated November 29 and December 1.

[17] Oliver, the son of John and Camilla Beard, was a nephew of McRaven.

some time and my motive for writing is sutch hast after stopping is that I wish very mutch to hear how you and the Children are doing we are all in confusion unloading our camp and you will Excuse me if my Letter is short I cannot think of any thing perticular to write to –but that I want you to write to me as soon as you get this and Direct your Letter to Greensboro.

D O McRaven
Camp at Greensboro
2 N C senior reserves
Com G

[Tuesday] Sep 6th 1864

My Dear Husband I received your letter last night and was glad and sorry to we are all well and doing tolerable well I think Jeff is trying to do the best he knows he commenced pulling fodder saturday he has nearly all that field above Johns spring down he commenced in that field next to the big road yesterday after dinner it is burning [drying] up very fast he said the corn hardly fit either Ester sent Mary Ann [18] down yesterday morning and and told her to stay until you come home Mary Maxwells[19] helped them yesterday and said she would come back to day Isabella[20] is still staying with me I dont know how long she will stay she is gone out to Hastens to day she will be back to night Eveline McRaven[21] said she would stay with me when Isabella left me. Hunter came here sunday evening and told me he was going to start Monday evening to where you were. I sat up Sunday night and wrote a letter to you to know about some things I never thought about and sent the letter and a poke of sweet potatoes and Irish potatoes and onions to Mintys[22] in the morning by Jeff he sent the poke back and took the letter and said he would mail it in Charlotte there was nothing on the back of it but your name he said he coming back last night if you dont get the letter soon let me know I get that lother from Eveline I gave her 33 dollars for three pounds and three quarters if you dont get home I want to know how you think I had better try to get sole lother after while Jeff told me to tell you howdy and ask you if he would take them collars that negro made he ask seven dollars a peace for them he thinks that is very high Ester was here saturday all day she wanted [to] know if we would hire Alsy next year I told her

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[18] Mary Ann was apparently a slave girl.

[19] Mary Maxwell was a single white woman who, like Ester Smith, seems to have turned to McRaven for business advice and counsel.

[20] Isabella Nantz was a niece of Mrs. Amanda McRaven who made her home at the McRavens during the period of these letters. She was about twenty years of age.

[21] Eveline McRaven was the sister of David Olando McRaven. She made her home with him most of the time and spent the rest of the time with her sister, Camilla McRaven Beard. Eveline never married and at this time was fifty-three years old. She is often mentioned in these letters as playing a responsible part in aiding Mrs. McRaven with the care of the home.

[22] Minty Maxwell, sister of Mary, was deaf and dumb and like her sister depended on McRaven for counsel about business affairs. The poke of food for McRaven was sent to Minty's because her home was on the main highway and would be easier for Robert Hunter, a neighbor, to pick up and take to McRaven.

I could not tell her until I would hear from you Richard[23] had bin at her for Alsy next year and she would not give him any promise Jeff cut the meadow last week and dug the Ireish potatoes and helped John some with the molasses mill and took Ranson two bushels of corn I let that waggoner[24] have four bushels of corn and two dozen of oats and the two bushels of sheled corn come to ninty one dollars he said he would want some more when he come along a gain

[A. N. McRaven]

Wednesday Sept 7th 1864

Amanda some of our company will start to Day on a short furlough and I will send you a few lines– I am well and have just Read your kind letter– R Hunter has just come in and told me he saw you Sunday Evening and that you and the children were well I liked R. B. [Hunter] more in a few minuets merely because he had seen you then you can think I long to see you But will not try to get of until the time– tell Molly that her pa will come back some Day tell Siss and jo to be kind to each other Tell Ester Smith that I will Depend on her Letting me have Alsy next year I spoke to her before I left home– you spoke about sole leather James Beard thought that we could take out a little of the Last Cow hide to make a few pair of shoes and let the rest stay in tan untile it is finished But if you could get 3 lbs of sole from Sossaman[25] I think it would be better for the other is not half tand I am Loking for a letter By mail I will write you a more satisfactory letter next [time] tell Jeff to Do the best he can, your husband

D McRaven

Camp at Greensboro
Guilford Cty. Sept 9, 1864

Amanda I received a letter from you this morning I will not attempt to direct . . . [illegible] . . . save when you get a letter however short it may be from me I have sent two short Letters to you since I came here but had not time to write anything scarcely in either of them I am kept pretty Busy since I came here I was put in company Commissary . . . [illegible] . . . a little sick and I will keep him . . . until he gets wele I have had good health ever since I parted from you and we have a mess of 13 men most of them old school mates and we feeal very mutch attached to each other even in this short time for the further we get from home the m. . . [illegible] . . . we are left behind No one

[23] Richard Beard was a brother of John Beard. Reference is made to Alsy, a Negro slave, and negotiations for her hire for the coming year.

[24] Wagoners were usually from the mountains and generally came along about once a month, though there was no set rule. Apples and whiskey were usually traded for corn or other commodities.

[25] Sossaman may have been the keeper of a general store, the owner of a tanyard, or a travelling cobbler. From the text of the letters it is obvious that he possessed leather or dealt in leather.

can [know] how Dear wife and Children are untill they be absent without knowing when they may be permitted to see them again and if it was not that I know that I am doing my duty as a man it would be a terrible struggle But I know I am dooing my duty and when you think of my trying to act as a true man under any circumstance it may be some small consolation to you. During my absence from you, and it may be some satisfaction to you to know that I am satisfied and contented in all Except my separation from you my own Amanda. Be kind to the children But firm in making them obey you strictly–
I am glad to hear that Ester Let us have a hand I was afraid that Jeff could not save our fodder and the molassace cane Sam Beard promised to make me a keg You will get some one to go for it and pay him in corn at the old price John Beard promised to help some with the molassacs as I Do not want you to injure your self by trying to Doo too mutch hard work– tell Ester Smith that I am mutch indebted to her for hiering me a hand and tell her that I am Depending on her to hire Alsy to me next year for if I am kept in the army I would mutch rather she was there than any hand that I can get If I have to stay out Long I would Like for Sherred Little to Dispose of Davie some way for Either him or one of my own horses stand a Chance of Being [im]pressed[26] at any time, tell Jeff he will have to take those collars for we will need them They are high But one Bu[shel of] corn will more than pay for them tell Jeff that I Believe he will Do all that he can for you and the children while I am gone tell Gilley I am saving tobacco from my rations[27] for her if I can send it to her– ten men out of Every hundred are getting furloughs home for 7 days James Johnson went out of our mess I send a few Lines to you by him. If John Johnson can go next time he will see you before he comes back I will not try to go until nearer the time you speak of– D Ewert is holding back Likewise his wife will be confined about that Last of this month– tell Jeff to be careful and not put the fodder up on the loft to Damp and that he must try and cut the part of the meadow that John cut the first time after he gets through with the fodder When John

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[26] McRaven is requesting his wife to ask neighbor Sherred Little to sell Davie, apparently a horse, which was possibly owned jointly so that it would not be impressed. Danger of impressment was quite real because the Confederate law relating to impressment stated "That whenever the exigencies of any arm in the field are such as to make impressment of forage, articles of subsistence or other property absolutely necessary, then such impressment may be made by the officers or offices whose duty it is to furnish such forage, articles of subsistence or other property for such army." *Public Laws of the Confederate States of America, Laws, Statutes, etc.*, First Congress, Session III, Chapter 10, 1863.

McRaven is perhaps more specifically thinking of a situation which found expression in an order published six weeks later by Captain J. W. Goodman, Post Quartermaster at Salisbury, which, when presented to the citizen, read, "I am ordered by the commanding general to impress all the teams in this country for a few days to haul wood for the troops and prisoners . . . at this place. Under this authority I hereby notify you to send your team and wagons and driver to report to my office. . . . I will release your team after two day's service." Captain Lewis H. Hanes Papers, folder no. 35, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina library.

[27] McRaven was issued a tobacco ration under a Confederate law dated February 17, 1864. The law stated "That there shall be furnished to every enlisted man in the service of the Confederate States one ration of tobacco, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may establish." *Public Laws of the Confederacy*, First Congress, Session IV, chap. 71, 1864.

Beard goes to make my return I wish him to take that Bond and see if they will take 100 and give me a certificate for 300 as I am afraid you may not have money to pay our tax and have enough for other Expenses I have written about Every thing that I can think of now only tell Jeff to send me word how the corn looks after he has the fodder pulled of and if he has marked the pigs, and allso that in Bad weather to make a few — to make a hog pen and to make [it] where it was Last year, and if I should forget it I wis the Land from the Road to Bett Beards up alle sowed and the pease abov Johns spring all in wheat tell John & Camilla and family howdy for me and Let me hear from you often

Yours truly D McRaven
Direct D.O. McRaven
Care of Col Hoke Greensborough N.C.
Co G. 2 Regt Senior Reserves

Sep 12th 1864

My dear husband I received your letter late this evening and you dont know how glad I am to hear from you and to hear you are well we are all well I was not very well to day but feal better to night you letter made me forget I was sick we are getting along very well so far I think Jeff is doing the best he knows he has put up twelve hundred bundles of fodder[28] last week he thinks he is a little over half done he say's the corn looks first rate he has the pigs marked we have had a great deal of trouble with our wheat the black weavel and white weavel are both in it we run it through the wind mill last friday we got three barls from Minty and emptied the oats out of that big box in the cotton house and put the wheat in them and have a lock to the cotton house door Jeff was helping John with the molasses mill to day he said he would get done to morrow he did not like John bothering him when he was busy with his fodder if I could see you I could tell you a great many things I am afraid to write on paper folks will be folks . . . Andy Alexander came up Thursday after dinner and stayed until night he thought you was with that company down in Union [County] and had got back he come to spend the evening with you Isabella went home last Thursday she will be back to morrow evening your sister Eveline is staying with me until she comes back McRaven I [have] nothing new to write to you only Charles Willson cooked a wedding dinner for Ben Brown last week and Ben went after his girl and did not get her her mother would not let them get married she is a————lives down near Charlotte brother Albert was all week last week hunt-

[28] Pulling fodder is a farm practice that has now about become extinct. As all old time farmers know, it was a process of augmenting the roughage for the livestock by pulling by hand the leaves or blades of corn, usually only those below the ear. It was tied by use of one of the blades and allowed to remain in the field several days in order to cure or dry. Two or three of these "hands," which was the usual amount a man could hold in two hands, were then tied together and constituted a bundle. This exact procedure may have varied from time to time and from place to place.

ing deserters[29] up in the little mountains we have no word of Brother Joe yet McRaven Let me know if you want both sides of the hollow sown in wheat on the left hand side of the path as we go to Robert Beards [A.N. McRaven]

Sep 13 [1864]

McRaven I am going to send Jeff to Mr Johnson this evening with some biscake and ginger bread and sweet potatoes and Ireish potatoes onion's and apples for you I sold two Bushels of corn to a waggoner to day and promised him 8 more as he went back I have three hundred dollars now Joe tole me to tell you howdy and tell you he could beet Jeff pulling fodder Sis said to tell you she was not much of a good girl Molly ask me if her farther wanted to see her I told [her] yes you would take her up and kiss her when you come home it did please her so well to think you were coming home I dont get to write half that I want to write to you I will look for you the 20 of Oct I do want to see you so bad I cant get about to do much good I feel so helpless write soon and take good care of your self good by my dear husband

A. McRaven

[no date]

McRaven write soon and let me know if there is any chance for you to come home soon you dont know how anxious I am for you to be at home when I am sick dont let that wicked stirring place make you forget you have a wife and some little children if I know you would not get home soon I would send you some cloaths and something to eat by Sam Hux to morrow he is going to Salisbury Isabella sends her best respects to you Jeff told me to tell you howdy for him I heard a little while ago that deserters had got so thick on the other side of the river that they had to send over on this side of the river to get men to take them yesterday I [have] nothing more to write at present your affectionate wive until death

A.N. McRaven

John is going to cut that little peace of meadow to morrow that he cut before if it is worth cutting

good bye my dear husband

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[29] Albert Nantz was a brother-in-law of McRaven. Many men found themselves unable to subscribe fully to the philosophy of government of the particular government under whose jurisdiction they found themselves at this period of history. There were disloyal organizations in the United States as well as in the Confederate States. The anti-Confederate organization known as the Heroes of America was present in the Salisbury area of North Carolina, if we are to believe a story in the Salisbury *Carolina Watchman*, July 15, 1864. For a discussion of this organization, see "Heroes of America," Southern Historical Association *Publications*, XI, 10-20. There seem to have been some deserters in and around Salisbury at this time. See A. D. Richardson, *The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon, and Escape*, 453-454; Richard A. Dempsey, "An Account from the Ranks," One Hundred Twenty-First Regiment Pennsylvania Infantry Survivor's Association *Review Edition* (Philadelphia, 1906) 187.

It is possible that Albert Nantz was hunting deserters out of loyalty to the Confederacy and this loyalty may have been spurred on by a reward offered by the Confederate government. The *Carolina Watchman* carried the following notice on June 15, 1863: "A Reward of thirty dollars ($30) will be paid for the arrest, and safe delivery of every deserter, from the Confederate States Army, at this post, or fifteen dollars for the arrest, and safe confinement, of any deserter, in any jail, of the different counties, so they can be secured by the Military Authorities."

Camp at Salisbury
Oct 12th 1864

Amanda I am well and I would have written to you before this but I wished to know something more before this We are going to have plenty to do here there are 7– or 8 thousand yankees penned up here and the guard Duty is Severe[30] they are a mixed Loking set a great many of them under size and many of them mere Boys and some good loking a part of our men have been guarding them in small squads to the creek for watter[31] and back our men have bin on since 9 o clock yesterday My turn will come next and I cannot write mutch there are several thousand of our men camped around here There was one of the Cabarrus men shot dead by the guard a Roann man last night he acted foolishly and tried to force past the guard and was shot. Our men have shot several of the yankees for passing over the lines[32] this is a mutch more stirring place than we had at Greensber and I may add mutch more wicked I cannot write any more at this time Let me hear from you soon tell all the Children howdy and that I will try and come home the 20th if I can tell Jeff to do the best he can– your husband

D McRaven

Direct to me at
Salisbury N.C.
2 Reg Senior Reserves

Care of Col Hoke

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[30] The Dix Hill Cartel had tended to keep the number of prisoners at any prison to a minium until it completely broke down in August, 1864. On August 18, 1864, General Grant said: "It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man we hold, when released on parole or otherwise, becomes an active soldier against us at once either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VII, 607. This is perhaps the briefest statement of the reason that the exchange of prisoners stopped in the late summer of 1864 and the reason that Salisbury Prison became overcrowded early in October, 1864. Between October and the time of the release of the prisoners in February, 1865, there were 10,321 prisoners held at Salisbury Prison. On November 6, 1864, 8,740 prisoners were held at the prison and this was the largest number ever held there at one time. *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 254.

At this time there were about 1,500 guards to guard over 8,000 prisoners. In addition to McRaven's statement that guard duty was burdensome, other sources state the same fact. See *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 179; *Carolina Watchman*, Jan. 15, 1865; A. W. Mangum, *History of the Salisbury Prison*, p. 319-20; W. J. Fletcher, *The Gee Family* (Rutland, Va. 1937) 43; W. Clark, *History of North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 756-57.

[31] The shortage of water is evidenced in practically all accounts of the prison by prisoners. It is well expressed in a report of the Assistant Adjutant and Inspector General, T. W. Hall, to the Quartermaster General, C.S.A., in which he said: "Water is obtained from nine wells within the inclosure and from the creek, one mile and a half distant [probably less than half a mile], to which the prisoners are allowed to go, a certain number at a time, under guard, with buckets and barrels. The supply obtained from all these sources, however, is not more than sufficient for cooking and drinking purposes." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 246.

On November 8, 1864, one prisoner described this process: "Our water supply was brought to us in barrels, the allowance being the amount that two men can carry in a barrel for every 100 men. A hole is cut through the staves of the barrel, into which a pole is put. This is carried by two men to a stream about 200 yards southeast of the stockade. About three pails of water is an average load for two men in our condition. These water carriers go out in squads of ten and twenty, under strong guard. Along the road to the stream are numbers of citizens who are eager to trade a sweet potato or a corn doger [this would probably be called a "corn bread loaf" today] for a Yankee relic." B. F. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 134-35.

[32] This refers to the "dead line" which was or is a feature of most military prisons. During the Civil War it was usually a line marked either by a small trench or stakes on which were nailed slats and constituted the limit of freedom of a prisoner of war. This "dead line" was located several feet inside the palisade wall. A prisoner at Salisbury Prison thus described the "dead line," "Along the east, west, and other sides of the stockade, about six feet in the inside a ditch was dug about three feet wide and two feet deep, forming what was called 'The Dead Line.'" B. F. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 13-14.

October 16th 1864
Mecklinberg N.C.

My dear husband I would have wrote sooner but I never got your letter until friday night and there has not bin any maile since to send a letter we are all well but myself. . . . Jeff picked the cotton over this week and sowed that field of oats and help[ed] to dig Mrs Hux's grave one day and he went to the river mill Friday he was gathering peas yesterday Mary Ann and the children were at it the day before every thing that can raise the troat [sing] is gone to Zion to day Camilla and Wash[33] is staying with me to day Wm. Beard and Isabella is gone in our buggy your sister Eveline stayed with me two nights this last week and Camilla stayed with me one night McRaven you dont know how desolate and bad I feal when you are gone I will look for you home Thursday night or Friday I will be badly disapointed if you dont come. . . .

N.A. McRaven

Oct. 17th 1864
Camp at Raleigh

Amanda I am uneasy about hearing from home I sent you a few lines soon after I came here and have been loking for a letter but I fear you have not got mine and do not know where to direct [it] to I am well, we have heavy Duty to perform there are 9 thousand yankies and three hundred Confederate prisoners here to guard and we have to guard the yankies in squads to the creek about half a mile to get watter like Cattle we have to be on guard 24 hours together and some times an allarm is given and we have to get Out of our Blankets and go and stand all night the yankies are Dyeing pretty fast 7 or 8 in a night.[34] I could stay here contented for it is a stirring place and suits me if I could only hear from you and the Children I cannot write mutch this morning as I have to go on Detail write soon and write all the particulars kiss the children for me. your husband D McRaven

[Part of the letter has been cut away but this follows.]

I will try to get home about the 20th but I am afraid thy will not let me go as there is another officer[35] over our Col and he may refuse me a furlough My officers will Do all they can for me they are all my friends.

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[33] Wash was an old Negro slave of the McRavens.

[34] The death rate was highest at Salisbury Prison from October, 1864, to the time of the liberation of the prisoners in February, 1865. During this period the estimated average number of deaths per day was placed at twenty-seven. *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 248.

[35] This doubtless refers to Major John H. Gee, commandant of the prison from August 24, 1864, to December 20, 1864. Since Major Gee was outranked by Colonel Hoke and perhaps others at Salisbury, it was with great difficulty that Gee got his orders executed. Though it is generally conceded that the commandant of a prison or post shall have precedence over all other officers regardless of their rank, such apparently was hardly the case at Salisbury Prison in the fall of 1864. W. J. Fletcher, *The Gee Family*, 142-43; *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 246.

Oct 19th 1864

Amanda I feeal sadly Disappointed I applied for a furlough to Day and could not get it I am in a poor humor to write I feal more like complaining at this time than I Ever did in my life but I have to submit I will try again next Sunday the officers say there cannot be spared one man I feeal Confused and hurt I cannot write any thing that I wish, I hope I may get Leave to start Sunday or on Monday I want you to do whatever you think best about getting Aunt Sally[36] to stay with you I wish you Amanda to keep up your spirits and hope for I fear you may Injure yourself by being so Down harted I live in full hope that I will see you before Long. Tell Jeff to [do] the best he Can for me and if he begins to gather corn to be carefull and not haul it in when it is wet with Due or rain and tell him that I cannot give him Directions now for I Cannot tell what is most needfull to be Done this time I still think I will get home next week– we have finished us a shanty it will keep the frost and the storm of our heads we are kept prety close on Duty and some of our men think it terrible hard but Amanda if you and the children are well and I can hear from you once a week I could do twice as mutch and [it would] not hurt me your Husband D McRaven

[Sunday] October 23th 1864
Mecklenburg N.C.

My Dear Husband I received your letter last Wednesday night and I would have answered it Thursday but I looked for you home Thursday and Friday I was so sure you would come I did not think it was worth while to wirte[*sic*] to you I lay a wake two nights waiting for you to come until past the time then I took my crie I feal very bad here in my fix I sent for Aunt Sally to come and stay with me and she was sick and could not come and the Doctors both are out moste all the time I dont know what will become of me I dont care so much for my self as I do for my children. . . . Jeff is getting along tolerably well with the work he has the corn gathered on this side of the hollow and sowed down in wheat all but that sandy peace between the ditches the peas are nearly all gathered on the other side Johns folks gathered peas one day one half for the other and they want to gather more John wants to commence sowing that old field this week they will have to help gather the peas to get it ready Jeff wants you to write back how much wheat he must put on that peace of ground on the other side of the hollow next to the big road he is afraid he wont sow it right John told me to day that Byerly had the real blue stone he would change for corn I am going to try to get some this week to soak the rest of our wheat I am afraid it will be bad wheat next year to sow it as it is William is going to town to morrow I will send by him to know how he will change William gets 30 dayes longer furlough John and William and

[36] Aunt Sally seems to have been a Negro slave and perhaps a midwife.

James Black had a fus out here at. the molasses mill one day this last week William give James Black four [or] five strokes over the head with a stick John catched hold of the stick and stoped him from striking him any more it was about them letters he wrote Eveline that waggoner came a long this week I let him have 10 bushels more of corn I got some brandy from him for you and you never come to drink it I have six hundred and sixty dollars now I wish he had took more of the corn Jeff put two good loads of that old corn in the barn and left two loads in the crib it was full of black weaveals I did not know whether to put the new corn in there or not I cut that peace [see letter dated Oct. 17th.] out of your letter you wrote to Richard Beard and sent it to him he went to settle last Friday but they would not settle he offered Mrs Sossaman two hundred dollars she would not take it Richard has to start to Raleigh in the morning they were after them deserters down in the hills Friday with dog's they raised three I dont know whether they got any but one or not they caught a ————I expect to start Joe to school this week to Black with Caty and Ellick[37] I dont like to do it much either you would be surprised to see the peas him and liz[38] gathered the children wants to see you very bad they all sends howdy to you Mollie sayes tell paw to come home and kiss his baby

A. McRaven

Oct 23rd 1864

Amanda My Captain and first Lieutenant tryed to get leave for me to start home to see you to Day Sunday, but failed I am hurt and uneasy but cannot help myself the Col told the officers that they could not let any man go home before the midle of next week Because we have not Enough men to guard the yankey prisoners and they have bin trying to get out[39] there has been several shot since I came here Some of the young men are leaving here and we have very hard Duty to perform I have been on Duty 24 hours Every other Day since Last Saturday week– I am well and I intend to try to get home next week But I do not know whether I can go or not you no [know] Amanda this is the first time I promised to come to you and Did not Come But I Cannot help myself Cheer up and hope for the Best and let me hear from you soon for I am very anxious to hear how you are getting Along I wrote this merely to let you kno that [you are] not to lok for me at the appointed time tell the Children howdy and

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[37] Caty and Ellick Beard were children of John Beard.

[38] Liz was a McRaven slave girl.

[39] United States officers were held as prisoners at Salisbury Prison and during the early part of October, 1864, they developed a plan for escape. An attempt was to be made on October 15 [note reference to this in McRaven's letter of October 17] but was not carried out because one disaffected United States officer let out the information. Another attempt was to be made on the twentieth but it likewise was thwarted at the very last moment. On this day all the officers were transferred to a prison at Danville, Virginia. For an account of this attempted prison break see Homer B. Sprague, *Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons, A Personal Experience, 1864-65* (New York, 1915), 60-76; H. A. Small (editor), *The Road to Richmond* (Berkley, California, 1939) 167.

kiss them for me and I give my respects to John and Camilla and Eveline tell Jeff and Gilly that I am well– take good care of yourself and be assured that you are uppermost in my thoughts.
D McRaven

Oct 26th 1864

Amanda I have just come of guard and tried my officers for a furlough and failed again I am tired and sleepy and sorry and I do not know what to do you have [no] idea how bad I want to see you if it was only for one hour I still hope that I will get to see you before long– do not trouble yourself trying to send any thing to me yet I can get along for a while tho I need shoes and another Blanket there is some talk of us getting home for a while but I do not credit it much Our Duties are severe but there is another squad[40] of men come here last Evening they may take some of our labour of I intend to try Every two or three Days to get to go home and you must not think that I can forget you Amanda for that is impossible– tell Isabella howdy for me and Jeff and Gilly– tell jo that I say he is a good Boy and I want him to Learn his book at school and be kind to Sis and Molly tell Molly that pa will come and kiss his baby as soon as I can– tell Jeff that I think about 4 and a half Bushels of wheat will sow that field tell him to sow it as nigh [near] the thing as he can and I will be satisfied I want to know if you have got them two pieces of leather from the tanyard I hear that James Beard is gone and I am afraid that we will not get our Leather I cannot write mutch at a time Let me hear from you often and I will Come to see you as soon as possible yours truly D McRaven

[Thursday] Oct 27th 1864

My Dear Husband I received your letter last night that you wrote on Sunday I think your letters are so long a coming I never get them until three or four days after they are wrote . . . McRaven I was glad to hear you even stood a little chance to get home next week I think hard of them men that they cant spare one bit of a man they have called the men down to Charlotte twice this week and sent them back both times Richard Beard is not gone yet your sister Eveline is staying with me this week they sent for Isabella to go home Tuesday Albert had to start away yesterday she said she would come back sunday Williams Gorge is gone Jeff has not gathered any more corn yet he said what he did pull was very tuff to pull he was waiting untile it would get a little dryer he dug the sweet potatoes Tuesday and put them up yesterday we have a fine lot of them more than we had last year he was going to gather peas this morning but it is raining and stoped him some folks rather wants to take the advantage about gathering

[40] One account stated that at one time, perhaps at about this time, about 400 senior reserves ". . . from Camp Vance were sent to increase the guard." John Steele Henderson Papers, 1864, folder 4-f, Southern Historical Collection.

them peas in the old field I sent to Charlotte Tuesday and got a pound and a half of the real blue stone I gave fifteen dollars for the pound and half it was a small lot they had for soldiers wives Jeff wants you to . . . [torn away] . . . much wheat he must put on that peace of ground next to the big road he is afraid he will not sow it right the children sends howdy to you they want to see you very bad Joe is not going to school yet Johns children [are] not going yet and he has no one to go with him yet McRaven I look for you home next week you dont know how glad I would be if you cold get home if I knew you would not get home I would send you a shirt and a pair of sock and something to eat by Sam Hux next Tuesday he was to go this week but he got off a few dayes Harriet[41] has the fever you must write soon and let me hear from you I think you will soon brake down you have such heavy duty 24 four hours is to long your sister Eveline send howdy to you I cant write any more now take good care of your self good bye my dear husband N.A. McRaven

Oct 29th 1864

Amanda I have a few spare minutes and I will employ myself During the time writing to you for the Letters that I have written have been short ones indeed for we have but little spare time . . . [Line on crease of letter so worn that it is illegible] . . . 10 o clock in the morning so sleepy that we tumble Down and sleep until twelve and then we have something to Do to make shelters and Clean our guns etc But I believe I am holding my own very well I am in good health and I have jus returned from being to get my shirt and Drawers wash[ed] they were very Dirty and I thought I had lice But could not find any there are millions of them here sometimes I feeal a touch of sorrow when I Lok of my stand on the Garrison and see the Amount of suffering and wretchedness[42] in the space alloted to the yanky prisoners there are from 10 to 25 prisoners Buried here Every Day But at other times I feeal that if I had the power they should suffer Even more when I think of what Our men have suffered in their prisons– I put in a rough night last thursday night it rained all night and I was very wet But I was not cold and feeal nothing worse from it I still hope that I will get home before Long to see you but I doe not know when we can get any furloughs yet But

[41] The wife of Sam Hux, a neighbor.

[42] One can readily imagine the suffering that a prisoner of war would undergo, but the words of one who was suffering there makes the most vivid impression. On November 30 a prisoner wrote in his diary: "One result of this long period of confinement, with its accompanying misery, hunger, exposure and degredation, is that many prisoners are losing all sense of right, justice and honor. Pretty thieving is practiced to an alarming extent, adding to the general misery. If a man happens to leave any of his effects out of his reach, they are speedily picked up by some sneak, and the rightful owner has no assurance of recovering his property. We dare not leave our hut without leaving some one to guard it. Rations must not be kept longer than we can devour them. If put away, no matter how secretely they may be hidden, some poor fellow sufferer is sure to find them and appropriate them to his own use. We dare not even go away from the presence of our friends to eat the little that is doled out to us. If a piece of bread is displayed in some parts of the prison pen, and the fortunate possessor is alone, two or three poor, famishing fellows are sure to attack and take it away from him." B. F. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 184-185.

I will still keep trying you spoke of sending me a shirt and socks do not send them yet, I have two good shirts I would like to have my overcoat or another small Blanket if I Dont get home soon for I get medling cold these long nights on guard dont trouble your self at this time sending [them] to me[. S]ome potatoes or peas or Butter or corn bread would taste good but I am in good health on poor Beef and tough wheat cakes and it is all that I ask if you and the children only keep well I am glad that Dr. Wilson called to see you and has promised to be easly come at when Called on and I am glad that Eveline is staying with you for if you get sick I know that she is a careful nurse and that you will not lack any attention that she can give I have not any Directions to give to Jeff I think [I] wrote about the wheat, tell him to Do as well as [he] knows how for I cannot think here what is best to be done for this is a bad wicked place there are a great many very wicked men in our own company and among the yankies their whole Conversation is made up of Oaths and Blasphemies they undoubtedly are the wickedest people On Earth– I want two or three pound of thin sole leather from Richard Beard to make insoles for Our shoes I wish you would get it from him I am nearly out of Shoes and I hear nothing of Drawing[43] any Jeff and the children will soon need [shoes] allso let me know if you have made any arrangements about making them I would rather Jeff would make his own and the children if he has time, I can do a while yet, cheer up my wife.

Yours truly D McRaven

Oct 30th 1864

[Part of this letter is torn away and the remainder is badly damaged.]

My Dear Husband . . . wanted to know about the lother I sent by William last Friday and he bought them two upper peaces the — is one peace weighed three pounds McRaven I dont know how I can get you a pair of shoes and a blanket fixed up unless I could get about better. . . I dont want [to] risk every body with the lother it cost to much Richard Beard got two Bushels of corn

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[43] Throughout these letters one is struck with the desperate need for leather and shoes. This condition was recognized by the Confederate government as early as October, 1862. At this time a law was enacted which provided ". . . That the President be and he is hereby authorized, on the requisition of the Quartermaster General, to detail from the army persons skilled in the manufacture of shoes not to exceed two thousand in number; and it shall be the duty of the Quartermaster General to place them, without delay, at suitable points in shops under proper regulations prescribed by him, and employ them diligently in the manufacture of shoes for the army.

Sect. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That soldiers detailed under the provisions of this act shall be entitled to receive pay for extra duty, and also thirty-five cents per pair for shoes manufactured by them severally, in addition to regular pay and rations." *Public Laws of the Confederacy,* First Congress, Session II, 1862, chap. 37.

In addition to this provision concerning the manufacture of shoes, the Confederacy obliged itself ". . . to provide, as far as possible, clothing for the entire forces of the Confederate States . . .," which would be taken to include shoes. *Acts and Resolutions of the Third Session of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States,* no. 256, 1861.

The wording of these laws passed during the early months of the Confederacy would almost imply the inability of the Confederacy to fill these requirements. McRaven, as well as many of his friends, might not have been able to have withstood the rigors of his duties at Salisbury without aid, in terms of food and clothing from his home.

here and is to give lother for it I have not get it yet Jeff has not gathered any more corn yet he has been gathering peas he - - the peas all gathered only that peace [near] Johns spring and this peace before [the house] he is going to gather corn to[day] if it is dry enough I will not [write] much this time William said [he wou]ld write to you to day I have no [time] to write to you only I am save[ing] that brandy for you I heard they - - - had run them salt makers[44] home again they have takeing moste all the men about here that was a mistake I wrote about Richard not being gone he is gone Robert Beard is gone to the tanyard I dont know how long to stay the children sends howdy to you and say you must come home they want to see you so bad. . . .

A McRaven

October 31st 1864
Catawba Cty. N.C.

Dear sister Amanda

. . . I got a letter from Joe last week he wrote he was well and hearty the letter was dated October eighteenth he was near Mount Jackson in Va. he wrote the Yankies came very near ketching him said he out run them he wrote he had got your letter said it was the first one he had got from us in a long time he got a letter from William the sixteenth inst. he was well [and] still at Petersburg. I received a letter from Brotherton[45] last week he was well when he wrote he has had the yellow Janders very bad he is still at Petersburg in the ditches yet he has been in a good many battles but not hurt yet I havent seen him since May he wrote to me he dont get enough to eat I have been cooking and puting up him a box today to send to him. . . .

Your sister,
Martha C. Brotherton

Nov 1st 1864

Amanda . . . be careful of yourself and never mind trying to look for Shoes for me yet I am not bad off and can do something without them, I am sorry to tell you that I cannot get home yet But will try Every Day whether I succeed or not I think if I could see you safe through I could Endure any kind of usage without a murmur Our Duty still continues to be Severe I think as the weather get Colder it will be more so there are three of our men

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[44] In October, 1862, the Confederacy exempted from military service ". . . all superintendents, managers, mechanics, and miners employed in the production and manufacture of salt to the extent of twenty bushels per day. . . ." *Public Laws of the Confederacy*, First Congress, Session II, 1862, chap. 45. On March 1, 1864, a list of those who were exempt from military service did not include salt miners or workers in the manufacture of salt. *General Orders from Adjutant and Inspector-General's Office*, 1864 series, Order no. 26, sect. 4. It is not difficult to understand why men employed in producing salt would resent being sent into the army. For a discussion of salt workers in North Carolina see J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, editor, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh, 1909), I, 315-316, 308, 333.

[45] Hugh Brotherton was a brother-in-law of McRaven. He was not killed during the war as was rumored at one time. See letter dated February 7, 1865.

gone home Last night they get 5 days and it will be Saturday before any more can get furloughs Hugh Blakely is sick and the officers are trying to get him sent home to Day But the Col says that he must not go I have no Directions to give Jeff, Only to manage as the best he can, and if you are oblige to get any shoes Cut out for any of the family get John Beard to come up and do it at home, tell Jo I want to hear how fan [horse] is Doing and if she has throwned him yet tell sis to be a good girl and I will Come home as soon as I can and se her and Molly, tell Gilley I Cannot save any tobacco for her this time and I want her and Jeff to save and take Care of what we have untile you get able to get about I am nearly Out of money but that will keep me from spending [it] write often– yours Truly

D McRaven

Nov 3th 1864
Mecklenburg N.C.

My Dear husband . . . Your sister Eveline stay's with us every night I would be so glad if you could get home to stay two weeks now I have moste quite looking for you soon you wanted to know if I had any shoes made yet I have none made and I dont see how I am to get any made I have no insoles yet I sent Jeff over to Dick Beards yesterday after that lother they sent a pound and a half and it is no manner account I am so mad as I can be about it I think I will send it back when I hear from you if I dont before I will try to get some lother some where else if I can I cant get about my self and I have no one to send that I have any confidence in write soon and let me know what you think I had better do Jeff gets along slow sowing wheat he cant get the corn dry long enough to get it gathered the first wheat sowed is coming up he is done gathering peas all but this peace before the door he gathered corn Tuesday in that peace next to the big road I think I will make him put up our hogs soon now McRaven I have not had [a] chance to send your over coat and blanket to you yet I ask William Beard yesterday if he would take them to you next week if I would pay his way on the cars he said he would I want to send you some things to eat to I dont like the thoughts of the negroes living so much better at home than you and write to me as soon as you get this letter and if you cant get home I will send William soon I thought about you all day yesterday and wondered if you was standing out in that coald rain I have no news much to write to you only they ordered them salt makers at Charleston to camp and they ran away and come home and they Telegraphed after them to Charlotte they caught ——— ——— Tuesday with the dog's and took him of tied I have not heard from the rest the children all sends howdy to you [and they] told me to ask you when you are comeing home and great many other things that I cant write I will get your shoes made as soon as I can I need my own very bad I was mad at Adline Hux

yesterday she came here with three or four pair of shoes for Jeff to make to get his attention drawed of from his other work Dick Beard came home last night after his horse write soon take good care of your self good bye My dear husband

N.A. McRaven

Nov 5th 1864

Amanda I have just read your kind Letter Dated Nov 3 I am glad to hear that you and the Children are all well It Does me mutch good and . . . [makes me] . . . thankfull when I am apiece [away] that those that I have so Dear are under the protection of a Merciful God who is able to Shield you from all harm– I am in good health and have no Care but for you and the Children You must not atempt to send any thing to me yet I am Doing very well and Can Do for two or three weeks yet I Do not want you to try to have me any shoes made until I find that I can not Do better there is a Report that we will Be Returned next week and get home a Month it may not be true but I hope there is something of it as there is many of us nearly Barefoot and we get no Shoes or Clothes of any kind[46] and there are other Regiments [word torn away] –ing in for a Day or two Send nothing untile you hear [from] me . . . three of Our men will Come in to night and if there is any Chance of me going home I will Do my Best– you Spoke of my Being Out in the Rain it is not as bad to stand Raped in my Blanket as you think I have Stood mutch harder things on the farm write often My own Amanda

D McRaven

Nov 10th 1864
Mecklenburg N.C.

My Dear husband We are all well this morning but my self I was very unwell yesterday . . . [She tells of her disappointment that he has not come home and speaks of what may happen to the

[46] As mentioned before (see above, p. 58, n. 43) the Confederacy assumed the responsibility of supplying clothing to its soldiers ". . . as far as possible . . ." This was in August, 1861. In December, 1862, a general order went out directing that all soldiers receive a complete uniform once within a three-year period. *General Orders*, 1862-63 series, Order no. 100.

As early as April, 1863, two years before the end of the war, this general order was issued: "Upon the death of any soldier, the surgeon in charge of the hospital at which it occurs will cause an inventory to be made of all his military clothing, and will make a fair appraisement of each article thereof. It will then be turned over to the nearest quartermaster for reissue." *General Orders*, 1863 series, Order no. 49. In light of this order one could not expect guards to receive much, if any, clothing.

Prisoner accounts of the clothing shortage at the prison sound atrocious when they relate how the dead were stripped of their clothing by the living. One prisoner said, "Things have come to such a state with us that it is absolutely necessary to strip the dead to relieve the needs of the living. It looks inhumane to carry the poor dead bodies to the dead-house naked. . . ." B. F. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 153. This, to the prisoners, seemed even more heinous when Dr. Currey, chief surgeon of the prison, appointed a prisoner to ". . . receive the *extra clothing* and valuable articles of all dying in the wards. . . ." (Letters and Orders, Salisbury Hospital, May, 1864-April, 1865, 54. In War Department Archives, Washington, D. C.) and to ". . . re-issue it among the living." A. D. Richardson, *The Secret Service, The Field, The Dungeon, and Escape*, 414. When these facts are pointed out the treatment of the prisoners seems more understandable, though no less severe. Unfortunately a nation will not cease fighting a war until it has been reduced to such dire poverty.

children if she does not survive the ordeal of childbirth.] Ellen Gibbs two little girls is about to die with the bad sore throat[47] that keeps me uneasy that bad disease has come so near I am afraid our children will have it Jeff get along very slow with his work it keeps a raining so he cant get the corn dry enough to gather or the ground dry enough to plow he is runing three plows today the ground is very wet Alsy is plowing here to get Jeff to sow their wheat and help them plow when he gets done ours Joe and Liz has cut nearly all the corn stocks he works well at any thing he can do he told me to tell you fan had never throwed him yet but she tramped on his foot and made his squall I will tell you what Isabella and myself has been doing since you went away I put in a web and Isabella wove it out then I put in another and Gilly is weaving it I have made two comferts and quilted one quilt and a good deal of other sowing besides I got a letter from sister Martha a few dayes ago she sent her respects to you she had got a letter from Joe that was wrote the 18 of last month he said he got my letter he was well and said the yankees come very near getting him the last fight Brotherton is at Petersburg and Sherrill is at Raleigh writing for Malette but he expects to be sent to Salisbury to do light duty Uncle Tomy Kerns has just left here he called to see how we were getting along and to see you he heard you were to be at home this week to stay sixty dayes McRaven I do want you to come home and stay until I get well so bad the children all send howdy to you write soon good bye my dear husband

N.A. McRaven

Nov 12th 1864

Amanda I got your Letter this morning and I saw Richard Beard and hear that you are still going about, [The child was born on this day.] I wish you were through your trouble for I have been Dissappointed and still kept up hope that I would get to go and see you but I have not got any Chance yet and I Do not know when I will my officers Can Do nothing for me I am well and on Duty to Day as usual I cannot write but a few lines to you as I have only Stopd on My post to write Do not attempt to send Me any thing untile you get able to go about take care of yourself and Let me hear from you soon, I write this so that you may get it Monday I must Stop

D McRaven

Nov 13th /64
Craignead N.C.

Dear Brother, Amanda wished me to inform you of her present circumstances . . . [The story of the birth is given.] . . . there was too brandy waggons camped down to wards the spring last

[47] The disease referred to is probably diptheria.

night and you may know we had lively times, William will start to his regt on Friday the 18th he will take your overcoat and some of the stimulas to you you must meet him at the depot when the evening train comes in to receive them as he will not have time to visit you at the camp as it will throw him behind time Our Family is all well at present also your own Little ones Jo and Sis was down hear Last night Elen Gibbs oldest Little Girl died day before yesterday with the sore throat her other one had it bad but is better. . . .

Jane C[amilla] Beard

Nov 15th 1864

My Dear Wife I received a few Lines from Sister Camilla and you Cannot tell how mutch I I feeal Relieved since I heard that you have Come through Safe So far But I still feeal mutch anxiety for you and my only wish would be to be near you and try to lighten your Burden and also to see by Baby But that Cannot be yet and I only feeal thankful that you are in a fair way to be well soon I have tryed hard to get home and Used Every honorable means But my Col says that he cannot spare a man, several Other men have had like Cases in their families since we have been here But Could not get home, there are some men gets home on trifling excuses and there seems to be partiality or Bribery going on and we have some very trifling men who fein sickness and Shirk from Duty on Every Occasion But I will not grumble I feeal two mutch Relieved to utter anything but words of thankfulness that my family is protected by an Almighty to shield from harm all those tender Ones– tell Jo he is a good Boy for Cutting stalks I will Bring him some yankey Buttons[48] for his coat tell Sis to wait on mother for me and tell Molly to kiss mothers Baby and not to hurt it till pa comes home and I will come as soon as I can get Leave I will not Bother you writing mutch now and will only add that I have good health and am thankful for it for I have mutch to do and the nights are getting pretty cold

D McRaven

Nov 17th 1864

My Dear husband I am going to try and set up in my bed and write you a few words to let you know how I am I am doing tolerable well I am very weak yet I sat up a little after nights

[48] Relics, trinkets, and works of handicraft from the northern prisoners were traded to the local populace in exchange for food and clothing. This trade was usually done when a detail of prisoners was out of the stockade to get water or wood and was quite a prosperous business for the prisoners.

One prisoner said, "I had the good fortune to go out with the water squad to-day [Nov. 12, 1864] and succeeded in trading a finger ring for three sweet potatoes, which I ate raw. I also cut off two brass buttons from my blouse for which I got the half of a sweet potato pie." On December 14 the same prisoner reported that within the stockade "Brass buttons command a price ranging from two to three dollars each. . . ." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 146, 199.

These letters confirm frequent prisoner references to the interest of Confederates in obtaining northern relics.

two nights the rest is all well I send you a bottle of brandy I want you to drink it all your self bring my bottle back with you when [you] come home I send you 24 dollars in money and some little stuff to eat McRaven I do want to see you so bad come and see me and my big baby soon as you can, . . . Jeff is hauling corn to day out of the old field to day he say the old field will make eight loads I cant write any more write soon your wife until death I cant set up any longer

A.N. McRaven

Nov 19th 1864

Dear Wife I heard from you Last night by William and I got a Bag of provisions and a Bottle of Brandy and otherthings But I was glader to get a few Lines in your own handwriting I could see By your writing that you were weak but we may Look for you to be so for a while I have a cold for a few Days that makes me feal very Stuped and Sore this is a very Cold wet Day I hope it will not last Long my Overcoat is just in time I want to see you and Our Baby more than you have any thought of I want to see Jo and Sis and Molly tell Sis I Eat her Chestnuts to Day I have nothing perticular to write only to take very good Care of yourself untill you get stronger Tell Jeff that I want him when he gets Done Sowing wheat to go on Sowing Oats in the field across the Branch before the Dore tell him to plow it in the way that we plowed the Corn Let him work at [it] in good weather and tell Jeff I want him to keep good fires for you while you are Sick tell him to Cut wod any where he Can get it Easiest untile he gets the Crop gathered I do not know when I can get hom I must get home if I can to get shoes for my shoes are nearly Don I Do not want any one to try to make shoes for me untile I find I cannot Do any Better. Tell Isabella that I intended to write a page to her But the Smoke is Coming right in my face and I must Stop . . .

Yours D McRaven

[Tuesday] Nov 22th 1864

My Dear husband I received your letter last night and I all wayes get disapointed I am looking for you to have some set time for to come home in every letter you write if you can get home by getting bare feet burn them old shoes up or do some thing to them we are all well but my self I mend very slow I get out of heart every now and then I sent for the old doctor Sunday to come and see me he never got here untill to day I had him and Mrs McAuley both for dinner to day he said I must take two or three portions of blue mass and take good care of my self he thought I would get a long very well I am setting up in bed a writing and I cant write very good I think I have a very pretty baby I dont know how you can keep from deserting [to] come home to see it the children loves it to death most Mollie would

kiss it all the time if we would let her we eat the last of our old bacon this morning all but one old ham Jeff killed that pig we had up this morning I was wishing you could be here to eat dinner with us Jeff keeps very good fires for me he wants to see you most as bad as I do he told me [to] tell you howdy for him tell you he had three or four loads of corn to hall and he would be done he dont think we made quite as much as we made last year I will have to quit writing I cant write half [of what] I want to write to you Write soon good bye My dear husband

A McRaven

[Tuesday] Nov 29th 1864

My Dear husband We are all well but my self and Joe I am a little stronger than I was when you went away but it is not much Joe has a pain in the head since dinner time yesterday he is some better this morning I think it is cold he wet his head Sunday in cold water Isabella got me one pint of whiskey saturday I am drinking my bitters now I cant tell whether it will do me any good or not them two waggons camped here last night I got a gallon of brandy from them I wish you had half of it they give the children a washpan ful of chenuts McRaven I am uneasy to hear from you you look so bad when you were at home and went off not well Saturday evening after you left Aunt Betsy and Sis and Reeca and all their children came over and stayed untile Sunday evening they all sent their best respects to you and said they were sorry they did not come a night sooner so they got to seen you Uncle Joe is going to over see for Martha next year Aunt Betsy said Sherod [Little] stop[ped] to see [Elbert] Sherril in Raleigh he said he was fretting him self to death he said he did not even have a tin cup to take a drink of water out of he thought if he would fix him self for camping out they would keep him they said Julia[49] was at home a fretting as bad as he was Ester sent me word they was so many folks here that day she was here she could not talk to me about the babys name[50] but I must call it for her and she would give it a present that never would ware out now you must say what you got to say about it I am not in any hury nameing it I heard about that fight they had in Salisbury that evening after you left I heard that ——— ——— had taken up with one of them bad wemon in Charlotte and was doing no good dont you forget your self and go among them filthy weman I have more confidence in you than that I want you to write soon and write how you are I am tired setting up it is most night and Joe is lyeing in bed with me he is still complaining with his head the Jane Bryson place went to over five hundred dollars Sosserman got it come home ever chance you get take good care of your self you affectionate wife untile death good bye me dear husband.

A. McRaven

[49] Julia Nantz, sister of Mrs. McRaven, was the wife of Elbert Sherrill.
[50] See p. 46, n. 16.

[November] 29th 1864

Amanda I Landed here safe with All my plunder Saturday night I was put on guard soon Sunday morning and have bin kept Busy ever since I am well and anxious to hear from you, you Can have no Idea how I hated to leave you Saturday morning If you were well and able to get about I would not be So uneasy take good care of yourself and do not try to Do too mutch and try and think as little about me as you can be cheerful and listen to the Children and all their fun and it will do you good I feal thankfull that you have come through safe so far and Our Baby it is a Jewell I hope that you and me will be spared with it tho we are parted for a time now I have nothing particular to write there is some talk of Our getting home for 20 Dayes but Expect it will not amount to any thing– they yankies tryed to break out Last Friday they killed three of Our men and hurt several more our men was prompt to their Duty and killed Some 18 or 20 and wounded a god many more the yankies when they found our men ready and willing to kill them fell Down on their Bellies and beged like Dogs[51] Our men have no Confidence in them now and rather wish them to try it again so that they Can get to kill more of them[52] there was one killed last night and our men will kill them

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[51] This was the most desperate attempt of the prisoners to break out of Salisbury Prison. The attempt failed because of lack of concerted action on the part of the prisoners. There are many accounts of this attempted break and they all generally agree in detail.

Major Gee, reporting to General J. H. Winder, Commissary-General of Prisoners, stated that on November 25 ". . . the prisoners of war confined in C. S. military prison at this place made a desperate attempt to escape by overpowering the relief guard of nine men and sergeant as they were coming out of the prison after relieving the guard stationed in the prison for the purpose of guarding hospitals, water, separating prisoners, and enforcing proper policing.

"They succeeded in getting possession of most of the guns and commenced an attack on the sentinels on the parapet at the same time that a rush of about 1,000 was made for the water gate and that part of the fence near the sinks where there are no troops encamped. . . .

"The result of the affair was 2 of the guard killed, 1 mortally wounded, and some 8 or 10 slightly wounded.

"The prisoners had 13 killed, 3 mortally wounded, and 60 others wounded. . . ." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VII, 1230.

One prisoner described the attempted break thus: "At 3 P.M. the signal was given, and a number, armed with clubs sprang upon the relief guard of sixteen men as they were entering the yard, while others rushed on the guards stationed in the grounds. Weak and emaciated as the prisoners were, they performed their work well. They wrenched the guns from the soldiers, and those resisting were bayonetted on the spot. Every gun was taken from them, and they made for their camp outside, where, being reinforced by a rebel regiment on its way to Wilmington, together with the citizens, who had turned out with shot-guns, pistols, or whatever other weapon was the nearest at hand, we were overpowered, though we had captured one of the field-pieces. There was no organized action; several thousand prisoners rushing to one point only, instead of making attempts to break down the fence in different places thus confusing the guards on the fence. The attempt was futile, as we had neither hammers nor axes with which to make an opening in the fence. . . . Sixteen prisoners were killed, . . . and sixty wounded, of whom many had no part in the outbreak and many were ignorant of it till they heard the firing." R. A. Dempsey, "An Account from the Ranks," from *121st. Regiment Pennsylvania Infantry Survivor's Association Review Edition* (Philadelphia, 1906), 180-181.

[52] There are many accounts of prison life written by the prisoners but these letters are unique in that they give the point of view of a guard. This attitude of the guards was often suspected by the prisoners who thought of it as a most dastardly crime. Prisoners seldom could see the "restraint" on the part of the guards and often expressed the opinion that guards deliberately shot prisoners in order to get a furlough. At any rate, when one reads the prison accounts, especially at Salisbury, it would seem that the Salisbury Prison guards were particularly heartless. A little research shows that this same thing occurred at other prisons, both in the North as well as the South. For discussion of this point see John P. C. Shanks, chairman, *Report of Committees of the House of Representatives made During the 3rd. Session of 40th. Congress, 1869* (Government Printing Office, 1869) 887, 894, 911; Joseph Ferguson, *Life Struggles in Rebel Prisons, A Record of the Suffering, Escapes, Adventures and Starvation of the Union Prisoners* (Philadelphia, 1865), 60; J. H. Browne, *Four Years in Secession*, 327-328; Henry C. Dickinson, *Diary of Captain Henry C. Dickinson, C.S.A.*, 61; William H. Knauss, *The Story of Camp Chase, A History of the Prison and its Cemetery, Together with other Cemeteries where Confederate Prisoners were Buried, Etc.* (Nashville and Dallas), 263.

Every chance write soon I must write to J Beard on the other Leaf I just got a letter from him

D McRaven

Dec 1st. 1864

Amanda I received a few lines from you I am glad to to hear that you are improving if it is Slowly It makes me uneasy to hear of Jo being sick I hope it will only be cold I have been pushed hard since I came back this is the first Day of rest I have got since Sunday I was of Duty one Day but had to work hard that Day fixing up our tent I gave out that Evening and had to lie Down a hour before Sundown I felt bad but went on Duty yesterday morning and have just now got off I am Sound as a Dollar and feeal well Except I am very sleepy I wrote you a few lines together with John Beard and told you something of Our yanky Bust they Made but little by it Our men will Shoot them now On Every Occassion I saw one shot Down yesterday like a Beef— thy yankies were Building a Chimney in the old factory if gave way and Smashed down and killed two yankies and Crippled Several more[53]—Amanda I think you will have to name Our Baby for Ester she has been kind to us and I Do not Care whether She makes it a present or not past kindness is Sufficent I was so mixed up when I Started Away last I Do not know wheather I told you some things that I wanted to tell you I[n] the first place I was to ask Many ann if she was willing to stay with you untile Christmas and if she was to keep her we will need her to help to gather the cotton and sow wheat and oats you will speak to Mary an and if she is not willing to stay let her go home I forgot to ask her Ester told me that when Aleys time was out with Richard she wanted her to have one week for Christmas then she was to go to Our house we did not Set any price on her untile we found what negroes would hire for next year I cannot mind whether I told you about it or not I would like for you to offer Ester pay for Mary anns time the first chance you know how long she has been hired, and I wish you could send the money up to James Beard to pay for that side of upper Leather, I want our Debts paid, allso Dr. Willson if he Calls again it Might be if you would send Jeff Down to Sossmans with an order you Could get a pound or two of sole Leather we have not got Enough and as soon as Jeff gets Done Sowing wheat I want him to make the Children shoes I charged him to take time and make them well and to make them large Enough that they would not hurt their feet– have no fears of me forgetting My Duty to God, to you my

[53] A prisoner tells of the falling of a chimney, though he dated the incident January 3, 1865. It is possible that both these references are to the same incident. This prisoner described the incident thus: "This morning the big hospital (or Slaughter House, as it is justly named), presented a sad spectacle. When the chimney was erected, it was placed on the inside of the hospital wall. The material used was a very poor quality of soft brick. It was built up from the ground without any foundation being placed under it and the result is, the lower course of brick were crushed and the whole structure fell the full length of the building, killing ten men and wounding several others." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 216-217.

Children, My Country, and my self But Ever remains your husband, D McRaven P.S. I will be shure to Come Every Chance. Give Jeff one Dram for me D.M.

[Sunday] Dec 4th 1864
Mecklenburg N.C.

My Dear husband I received your letter Friday and I was glad to hear you had got well and was talking about coming home again you stayed so short a time at home when you were here I was dreading the starting time so bad I did not enjoy it we are all tolerably well to day Joe has got well and I have got so I can walk across the house I mend very slow Mollie has been bad sick I did not think she would live Friday night she was out of her head most all night and threatened with spasmens I think it was worms I sent for Camilla after 8 oclock and her and Isabella worked with her moste all night she lay in bed all day yesterday she is up to day but has not eat any thing yet scarsly since friday I think she will get well now the little babe is doing very well Mr Ranson cald in here yesterday he looked at the baby he said it was a right McRaven I have no news to write to you only Mike Hager died yesterday and your old negro Sezar died last night John settled with Sossaman yesterday he gave them four hundred dollars Mr Caldwell allowed them three hundred and fifty and Mclure allowed them four hundred Jeff has get nearly done sowing wheat he is done that field above Johns spring he soak[ed] more wheat then sowed it and he is sowing your tobacco patch and potato patch with what wheat he had left I think he had better take the government hay and fodder away before long I am afraid they will come and take more than I will want them to take I dont know how much hay to give them I have thirteen of the prettyest pigs you have seen one sow has seven and the other six there is preaching at Richard Beards this evening Isabella and sis is gone McRaven I want you to come home as soon as you can I want to see you as bad as ever you are out of hearing of family troubles now and I have them all to bear now I slep none friday night and I felt very bad all day yesterday write soon and tell me next time you are coming home to stay 20 dayes your wife untill death good bye My dear husband

A. McRaven

Dec 8th 1864

My Dear husband we are all well this morning but myself and I am not sick it is weakness that is the matter with me I have not been to the kitchen yet I can go about in the house Mollie has got well as common she looks pale since she had that brash I have just finished cutting Joes shoes out Jeff is makeing them to day I expect they well be shoes again me and Jeff gets done with them I sent Jeff to the tanyard yesterday to get some more lother

he got none nor no promise of any Jeff wants to take his corn to Charlotte next week I will send with him to get some if he can I was a going to send him to Sossamans Monday and John Beard said he heard Sossaman say a day or two before that he had none and I never sent him James Beard ask 30 dollars for taning that side of upper lother McRaven I wish you would send me word what arrangements you and Holbrooks[54] made about work he sayes he is to work at the old price and you were to let him have what ever he wanted at the old price he sent up here yesterday for two bushels and a half of corn I want to know what you charge him for corn I had a notion to not let him have it Mary ann is here yet she dont want to go home when her time is out her and Alsy is picking cotton to day Jeff will get done sowing oats in one day I give him leave to have a candy stew saterday I dont know whether I done right or not he wants you to get him a set of banger strings in Salisbury if you can he said he would pay you for them send them in a letter Mr. McNeely cald here Monday evening and stayed about two hours he is gradeing a little peace of road at Charlotte he was there that day you went away working close by where you took the train but he said he did not know you were there he said he wanted to see you verry bad he looks verry well he thinks they will build this road up between now and spring he said he had not been home since June before he said he would call here Christmass Isabella is going home the last of this week I dont know what I will do if I cant get Eveline to stay with me I have not ask her yet whether she will stay with me or not I have been in the kitchen since I commenced writing I am verry limber in the knees when I go to walk McRaven if you dont quit wearing your self out down there I wont own you when you come home . . . I have the baby in the cradle and I cant write for fighting Sis and Mollie off of it Mollie sayes tell you she is rocking the baby Joe send howdy to you and Sis sayes you must get some yankee buttons for her they all want to see you and me wants to see you worst of any write soon and come home soon as you can good bye my dear

Amanda McRaven

Salisbury Dec 11th 1864

Amanda I have just Come of guard it [is] very Sloppy & wett but I am well Except my throat is Some what sore I am allways so sleepy when I get a chance to write to you that I cannot write mutch of a L[e]tter I am glad to hear that you can walk about a little If I was with you I think you would get well faster I think you study to mutch about me, If I could only be with you– Amanda you must do what Ever you think best about the shoes, get Leather from Charlotte if you can it will not [be] but about 2 pounds if Jeff goes to Charlot Some one Should go with him tell Jeff to take pains and make the Childrens shoes good, I cannot

[54] Sam Burton Holbrook was a near neighbor and father of John Holbrook who later married Ester Jane McRaven.

find any Strings for him here Holebrooks is too fast getting Corn from you do not let him have any more I promised to do as he said but I Do not want any corn Sold untile I see Our hogs killed and Our tithe paid, if you send the Hay and fodder up get John to look at my returns and shew Jeff how mutch to take Amanda I Cannot Direct you about Every thing for when I began to write So many things Crowd into my mind about you that I forget the things I should write tell Molly she is pas own Baby and a good Child for rocking the little Baby Dont hurt it Molly tell Siss I will try to get her some Buttons tell Jo he is a good Boy I want him to keep fires for Ma and Do not Cut his feet with the ax. . .

D McRaven

Dec 13th 1864
Mecklenburg N.C.

My Dear husband I received two letters from you last night one of them I ought to have got laste week I had began to think it was a long time between times we are all well this morning I have the cold right bad and the weather is so bad I cant get out of the corner I have never been to the kitchen but twice yet you said if you were at home I would mend faster that is so I am not satisfied and any one that is not well and their mind not at ease cannot mend very fast you ask me not to think about you much I try to be negro once and a while and let every thing go for what it is worth but it wont do the first thing I know I will be as deep as ever in thoughts I try to do the best I can Isabella is gone home she said she would come back a Christmass Eveline is staying with me now Joe has got his shoes made and Jeff is makeing Sis and Mollies shoes to day I think we have moste enough of lother for our shoes Jeff borrowed insoles for his shoes from Sarah Hux [and we are to] pay it back in the spring when we get ours I will send when he goes to charlotte and get a pound of sole lother McRaven Dickson Ewart is going to start to Salisbury Thursday in the waggon I am going to send you a little of something to eat by him if I keep well enough them waggons is to be long this week and if they have any liquor I will send you a little by Dickson I have nothing new to write to you we killed our two hogs last week one weighed hundred and forty and the other one hundred and twenty Jeff sayes our other hogs are fattening verry fast I have not seen them since they were put up it is cold to day and the children crowded around the firs so I cannot half write sis sayes she will send you some chesnuts when she gets them and Mollie sayes she will send you some potatoes Joe told me to tell you howdy and for you to come home Christmass and he would kill the old turkey gobler I will go his havers in that Jeff and Gilly send howdy to you write soon if I send that stuff to you by Dickson send my poaks back with the waggon if you dont want them your wife untill death come as soon as you can

A. McRaven

Dec 14th 1864

[McRaven] . . . we are all well to day I have stired about more to day than I have ever done yet I am very tired to night I am not very strong yet but I feal more like I was going to get well yesterday and to day than I have ever done yet I am going to send Jeff down to Mr Ewarts in the morning with a bottle of brandy for you and some stuff for you to eat I could not do very much to it myself I had done as well as I could I wish you would send some of my poaks back with Mr. Ewarts waggan if you have no use for them McRaven Miss Ester told Mary ann to ask if we would hire her and Alsy both Mary Ann dont want to go home I am not willing to hire more than one but what ever you say I will do the children has got their shoes made Mrs Hux is going to lend Jeff insoles and John said he would lend him two soles I think we can make out with what we have then I want [to] try Bob White or Potts negro for a wool hat for Joe he is moste bare headed we have not get any of our cotton picked out yet scarsely the weather is so bad we cant get any thing done scarsely them waggans came along yesterday evening I got a cheese from them I am going to send you a chunk of it and a bottle of brandy for a Christmass gift if you dont come home for Christmass I would be so glad to see you the children send you some chesnuts I send [a] taste of sassage meat I think the little babe is getting very pretty it has pale blue eyes like yours the children had a great deal of news for me to write to you but it is getting late I cant write it let me hear from you soon my dearest husband

A. McRaven

let me hear if [you] get your provisions and how you like it

Dec 18th 1864

Meclenburg N.C.

My Dear husband I have not got but two letters from you in two weeks you were complaining on me not writing but I begin to think that it is you that is going to fail or I write to often one I heard the home guards were going to take the Reserves place and let you come home a while I would be so glad if it was so we are all well to day I have not got so I can do a dayes work yet I have been sewing some but I get verry tired a gain night comes I dont gather strength very fast Jeff had his candy stew last night they behaved them selves very well Johns folks were all up here but Camille and Ellick Samuel Hux was here to Jeff went to charlotte Friday with his corn he got a hundred and forty dollars for 8 bushels I sent with him for sole lother he got William Bell to try round for him and could not get any for less than 25 or 30 dollars and no account at that and he never get any I think I will send him over to Robert Nixons some time this week to see if he can get any lother there John promised [to] let Jeff have two soles for his shoes and now he sayes he cant spare it if he had let us have them two soles I thought we would have enough Jeff took the hay and fooder up to the College yesterday I

sent your returns with him and got receiptted right and sent back we have not got that dayes plowing of oats done yet nor the cotton picked out either the wether is so bad we dont get much done McRaven John said you wanted him to take part of that big cow hide at the tanyard I want to know how much you allow him to have you never said any thing to me a bout it and I did not know what to sayes to him I want to know if you want us to keep the hogs up and make them as fat as we can or kill them before long and not fead to much corn to them my shoes is so bad and the ground so wet I cant go that far to see how they look if the weather is not to bad I am going to send Joe to school in the morning I feal like I dont want to spare him since you went away I can send him a bout to see to some things that I would not know any thing about if it was not for him William Hasting was here Thursday I ask him to Still us a run of whiskey he said they were not doing any good a stilling and he had stoped them that day he said they only made five gallons for a run he said he would do it as soon as they could make a turnout I have Miss Ann Maxwell this evening they say negroes are going to hire for as much more as they did this year the children send howdy to you write soon and come home as soon as you can my dear husband your wife

A.N. McRaven

Dec 20th 1864

Amanda I Received a letter from you to Day you scolded me for not writing to you the reason I Did not write to you is that I hurt my finger and Could not write Besides I have been Expecting to start home Every Day for a week I do not know when I wile get [to] John Johnson Can tell you how we are fixed, I sent my Cloths and my knapsack home in Dixon Ewarts waggon and I am as Dirty as a hog I hope that I will get hom Soon you must not let any one have any Leather on no account, nor corn either Except it may be a little to a waganeer, let the hogs be a few Days I think I will get home soon John Johnson will tell you all

[D. McRaven]

Dec 21 — 1864

Amanda I thought I would have Ben at home with you before this time But the home guard has been sent on to Winston [-Salem] and we have to stay here you kno my feelings, I will not attempt to write mutch my finger hurts me it is my Right fore finger I got it hurt last Monday week on the wood train, R

[55] It is not clear how or why a guard would hurt his finger hauling wood to the prison. Among the many shortages at the prison was that of wood for fuel. Wood was obtained chiefly by hauling it on the train but teams were also employed. Though the quartermaster had made efforts earlier in the summer to obtain wood, that article still remained scarce during the winter. A Confederate account tells of procuring wood: "A train ran regularly on the Western Railroad to transport wood. Fifty or sixty of the prisoners went with it as a detail for loading and unloading. Numbers of wagons were frequently, if not constantly, employed in hauling wood to them. The wood-yard was immediately on the Central road, near the crossing just west of the stockade. It was carried thence by the prisoners who passed to and fro between a line of sentinels. The wood-master was allowed as large a detail for this purpose as he thought necessary." A. W. Mangum, *History of the Salisbury Prison*, 322-323; see also *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 253.

Hunter will call and see you he will tell you any thing about our not getting home that you wish to kno, You must not let Holebrok have any more corn nor any one else Except perhaps a wagganer untill I get home, John Beard can not get any of that cow hide keep it all, my cloths and knapsak is at Dixon Ewarts if you have not sent for it I kept one Blanket you must sent it back with Hunter Do not Bother yourself trying to send provisions I only need my clothes and Blanket Amanda I cannot write it hurts my finger so bad and I am on guard to Day kiss all the Children for me I am well and hope to see you before . . . [long]

D McRaven

Dec 22d 1864

[This letter is written on the back of the page containing the letter dated Dec. 21st.]

Amanda I will send these letters By mail after having them Backed[56] I am well I Do not kno wheather Hunter will get home or not It is hardly light I was on guard yesterday & Last Night it is midling cold I have to be at the gate of The garrison at Sun up—I am afraid I will not be with you Crismas Save me a Dram If you hev any tell the negros to be Carefull and not have any Bad Company about and I Do not want Mary an next year there is only Land fo two hands I am hurt about not getting home I want to Se you Bad

Yours D McRaven

Dec 25th 1864

Amanda I am not Enjoying my Christmas quite as well as I could wish I have just got of Duty & I am sleepy, and more I want to be with my own Dear wife and my children My hopes was high a few Days Back we were actually fixing up to start home when the Order was Countermanded, You can only tell how Bitterly I was Disappointed. You my wife that know how I long to be with you, I have thought of you and Dreamed of you mutch for the Last week. . . . Stern Duty Binds me here but I Still remain hopefull I still cherish the One Dear Idea that I will . . . [get to come home soon.] Amanda I am getting romantic you will laugh at an old fellow 48 years writing Love like a boy I will try and inform you how I spent my time in the first place I am in good health my finger is getting well tho it hurts me a good Deal to write the face of my right fore finger was mashed of to the Bone I could see the Bone, I have nursed it as carefully as I could with the Dr. Directions it is healing up and is not injured in shape, I have nothing to read nor no time to Read I am on guard Every other Day I came of at 10 o clok Sleep till 12 then help to Cary

[56] "Backed" in that day and time referred to addressing a letter. Perhaps this idea stemmed from the fact that letters in some localities had originally been folded and the address written on the back of the letter, thus eliminating the need for an envelope.

watter and wood and quarrel with any one that I hear grumbling untill night then sleep all that I can to be ready to mount guard at 10 again when on guard most of my time is taken up thinking of you and that Makes these Long Cold Dreary nights pass away more agreable then you might think I often see things to amuse me among the yankies they steal from Each Other, and it is very common to see them fight Each other like Dogs[57] Our men often act like heathern they officers of Masses Batalion have an old fellow that calls himself a Quaker in tow they have ben working with him this is the third Day, he will not cary a gun they have Strapped a Musket on his shoulder and tied a rope around his neck and three men take him by turns and Drag him around in a ring at the trot I think they will Drag the life out of the Old Scoundril before Long but they will not make a soldier out of him,[58] tell Jeff I want him when Christmas is Over and the Mon Changed to kill the hogs if the weather is suitable and I want him in Bad weather to Cut some old trees Sutch as will make good Rails and work the refuse up for firewood, tell him to pick sutch as is on the Decline any where Like we Did when I was at home I want that peace of fence reformed between our Barn field and Johns tell Jeff to Strip my tobacco of the Stalk some Day and make it into hands– tell him and Alsy to do whatever they think will help on towards making a Crop next year Reding up & and take care of the stock, if Gilly is needy for shoes make Jeff mend up my old shoes and they will answer untill we get her better ons, I sent you a pair of shears a pocket Book and two knives by Hunter, if hunter Brings my things Dont send the Canteen I have another tell all the children howdy and kiss the Baby for me

Your husband D McRaven

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[57] Perhaps no one would think of such a place as being very pleasant. Within the prison a condition existed which tends to explain this statement. Among the prisoners, Confederate convicts as well as the northerners, there existed an organization of robbers known as "Muggers." Confederate authorities seemed unable to stop the depredations of these men.

One prisoner described their activities thus: "Men were frequently mugged in the Prison-yard. Several of the band would gather around the intended victim, who on a sudden would be thrown to the ground; his pockets turned inside out; his coat and hat, sometimes his shoes, taken; after which he would be let alone until he obtained more money or clothes to invite a fresh attack.

The Rebel room, in the third story, where the convicts were confined, was the principal field for mugging. The wildest cries of pain and terror emanated from that quarter every night or two; and daylight would reveal some poor fellow with black eyes, swelled lip, and badly cut face, deprived of all his valuables and a large portion of his clothes." J. H. Browne, *Four Years In Secession*, 345-46; see also *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 248-249.

[58] It is a well known fact that Friends or Quakers, as they are more generally known, will not resort to violence. This fact is usually recognized by the government which makes an exception of those who are conscientious objectors. The Confederate law on this provided exemption from military service to ". . . all persons who have been or now are members of the society of Friends and the association of Dunkards, Nazarenes and Mennomists, in regular membership in their respective denominations: Provided, Members of the society of Friends, Nazarenes, Mennonists and Dunkards shall furnish substitutes or pay a tax of five hundred dollars each into the public treasury." *Public Laws of the Confederacy*, First Congress, Session II, 1862, chap. 45. It is possible that the person mentioned had failed to pay his $500 tax or supply a substitute, which may have been construed by him or them as excessively burdensome. Since Salisbury Prison was a detention center for Confederate convicts and there were many Friends in North Carolina, more Friends were imprisoned at Salisbury Prison than at any other prison. F. G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes or the Friends in War Time* (Cambridge, 1895), 165, 154, 204, 326, 390.

Dec 27th 1864

[Part of this letter is torn away.]
My Dear husband I received your letter last night I thought it was a long time a coming I was badly disappointed when I heard you were not coming I felt like I sunk a foot and - - - are all well this morning I have not gathered [stren]gth yet I am well enough other wayes Mollie [was] bad off last week she brok out in great splotches [as la]rge as your hand and her face was very much [inflamed] she is well enough now we have a very dull Christ[mas so] far there was four waggons campted here Sunday night they had a drove of cattle and put them in field back of the barn and we fed them they had brandy and apples chesnuts and cheese and I dont know what all Miss Ester sent me word to get her a gallon of brandy and not let any one know it and [I did.] I let them waggons [almost illegible] have some corn and fodder and half bushel of sweet potatoes I got some brandy for you if you will come home and get it we have all the shoes [ma]de but mine and Jeffs we can do without bying any [ot]her by borrowing inside soels from Mrs Hux and one [out] side sole from John Beard for Jeff shoes he made - - - nd Liz shoes last week I cut them all out Jeffs - - -t ready to make as soon [as] Christmas is over I have two sides of upper leather yet only one vamp [59] of Jeffs I had to take out of one of them mine is not cut out yet I have no good last to make them on I am waiting for you to come home and make me one Mary Ann - - - Saturday and Alsy moved down that same e[vening] the hireing us up at Esters next Saturday she [sent word] this morning for me to go up to the hireing sat[urday. I] cant go unless it is a very good day I dont kno[w what] she wants I sent Liz home last Saturday I wrote- - - and sent to Mrs Bratton to know if I could get Liz next year as I had her this if she would I would take her she wrote back I could get her next year I think we will kill our hogs the first of next week if the wether is fit they are not near as fat as they ought to be for the time they have been up McRaven I was going to send you a poak of p[rovisions] by Mr Hunter and I heard to day he did not know whether he would go back to morrow or not and I was afraid I would not get it sent if I did put it up I put four apples in v- - - your cloaths for you John sayes he is going to see you b[efore] long and I will send you something by him for you - - -Mr Hunter forty dollars for you I did know h[ow] to send to you I had your blanket washed and [packed] it if it had not been Christmas I could not get hel[p] - - Eveline said tell you she was well and never mind writing to her to write to me and the children the children all send howdy to you and they want to see you very bad Joe said tell you fan never throwed him yet but she was getting scarry since she quit working Ester appears to be very proud of the babys name if you would see your baby in a strange crowd you would not know your own child lots of McRaven in it to gets waked up

[59] A vamp is the part of a shoe just above the sole, covering the toes and extending to the sides.

at night and sets up as long as I do I dont think it looks like our other children I will send you something to eat when John goes to see you I am sorry I did not send you something with Hunter write soon your wife

A. McRaven

Dec 31st 1864

Amanda this is a Bad wet Day it is snowing prety fast I wish to write you a newyears Ltter and I know I cannot write it tomorrow for I will be on guard I am just com of now, I am well and harty My finger still Bothers me I cannot hold the pencill for it presses right on the sore when I right I have nothing particular to wright Only to let you know that I got my knapsack and all my cloths and Hunter gave me 40 Dollars that you sent me I needed my cloths Badly for I had Lots of Big lice on me I Changed my Clothes yesterday and killed a Dozen or two of Big lice[60] I saw Elbert Sherrel yesterday he has an appointment in Salisbury Julia and Martha is well Sherrell Does not Look well he does not like to stay from home he is not stout this is a terrible muddy place[61] one Can hardly get about it is so Slippery write to me soon and tell me all the news I want to hear from home often–often tell John and Camilla howdy and tell Eveline I would write her a letter but it is hard for me to do it now. untill my finger gets well, tell Jo I am glad that he likes to go to school tell Siss I have not found her any thing prety yet tell Moly she is my pretty Baby and she must Love Mammys little baby and kiss it for me tell Jeff that I would like to see him and Gilly too I wrote to you before what I wanted don for a while I will write again soon, I will come as soon as I can

D McRaven

[Sunday] Jan 8th 1865

My Dear husband I would have wrote by Fridays mail but we killed out hogs tuesday and I could not get time if you are like me you cant hear to often I heard from you yesterday by John Jetton we are all well this morning John Beard said he would go to see you this last week but folks bothers him so about shoe

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[60] Prisoners suffered even more from lice than did the guards. One prisoner said, concerning lice, "The poor fellows who have little strength left are always fighting them with desperation, but the poor helpless sick and wounded men suffer torture beyond the power of language to describe." He also said that in the hospital the ". . . dust and straw on the dirt floors seemed as though they were literally alive . . ." with lice. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 182, 275. Prisoners outside the hospital spent warm days ". . . engaged in the laudable and necessary duty of hunting graybacks. . . .," as they called lice. He explained this process: "The only way to exterminate them is to take off the garment, or what is left of it, sit on one end of it while the fighting is carried on at the other end." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 198. It was necessary to sit on one end of the garment to prevent it from being stolen.

[61] In February, 1865, an inspector included this in his official report of an inspection of the prison: "The most serious objection to this choice of a site for a prison is, however, the character of the soil, which is stiff, tenacious red clay, difficult of drainage and which remains wet for a long time, and after a rain or snow becomes a perfect bog." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 246.

makeing he cant get off I dont know whether he will go this week or not Joe wants to go with him to see you if he will take him and it suit I think I will let him go I have nothing new to write only we have Sam Beard for a neighbor he has moved to Ann Maxwells and Longmire Dick Beards brotherinlaw has run in here from Tennisee to save his life the yankees and union men has taken every thing he had only the horse he rode Joe Beards wife[62] was married Christmas morning to Rufus Washam Jeff was at the river mill yesterday and Rany Hagar told him the next time he come to mill she was coming home with him to stay a while with me she said you ask her to stay and she was going to do it I dont think Eveline wants to go back to Johns to stay Isabella sent me word she was coming back soon as she gets her shoes made it seems that I can have companey plenty but they are not the ones I want to be with I rather be [with] you than the whole buziness of them dont you think I want you to work I think I can make some sort or a living if I dont meete up with Jim Brown to often McRaven I was not vexed at trifles Charles only allowed Brown to give to hundred dollars Bob Beard was at Browns back pushing him up to bid against me so I was told after the hireing was over Sarah and her child was put up and Bob bid one hundred dollars and got her there was not one bid against him Brown tried to get Liz to Mrs Bratton told him he could get her next year if I did not want her they are not going to tramp on my toes to much and not hear from me I dont ask them much odds I have more than enough to pay for Alsy now if this kind of money is curent at the end of the year I have seven hundred and thirty five dollars I am trying to do for the best and to please you as well as myself the children were very proud of their letters they laid them away to keep little Ellick Beard is very sick to day John is gone after the Doctor I will send you the weight of our hogs on a peace of paper it was tolerable good meat for small hogs I am going to make some cloth for your pants let me know if you want them I do want too see you so bad write soon and come soon as you can

A. McRaven

[Written at top of this letter is this–] I have a bottle of brandy saveing for you when you come home I think your ninty days is out now

Jan 11th 1865

My husband we are all well to day I was very sick yesterday with Sick head ache I am well to day McRaven I send you some fresh bones sausage meat and peas potatoes & biscake ginger bread ground coffee and a bottle of brandy I got the word late to day and I have not time to write much or do much I had the blam

[62] Perhaps the word widow should have been used in the place of wife. However, no one seems to be able to explain this situation.

corn [im]pressor[63] to day I got of with five bushels I dont [know] whether they will come back on me or not twas Columb Mcoy that was here your brandy is in with your biscakes Ellick Beard is some better to day Isabella come back Monday and Eveline went back to Johns Lizzy Beard said you must give Mosa Alexander a big turnip for her I will write soon I have not time to write to day your wife

A. McRaven

Jay 11th 1865

Amanda My Dear Girle I Received a letter from you yesterday I was Very glad to hear from you and glad to see a tone of liveliness in your letter I have been twice on the point of Starting home and had the mortification of having the Order Countermanded I was to go with Moses Alexander but did not get off Our Men are getting very mutch Dissatisfied and is runing of there was 10 of Our men run off[64] night before last I think they are wrong and if you never Se me Amanda untill I slip off like a negro it will be a long time for I know that you would be ashamed to see me if the weather was good I would like to Se Jo if John Comes the roads are very Bad now, I do not need my pants yet But I will need them before Spring this is a hard place on Cloth the Seat Should be made double for we have to sit on the ground or a Brick or a piece of wood just as we get the Chance, night before last was a terible night it rained hard all night, I have not got any newyears gift for you yet, you must keep my Brandy I hope to get home to see you sometime I forgot to tell you that George Lytten sent me a Bottle of whiskey it Did not live long

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[63] Impressment was another exhibit of the desperate condition into which the Confederacy was forced. It is an exhibit, *par excellence*, of the way wars take away the rights of private property, which is something that the English-speaking people value greatly. The Confederate law, enacted March 26, 1863, stated "That whenever the exigencies of any army in the field are such as to make impressment of forage, articles of subsistence or other property absolutely necessary, then such impressment may be made by the officer or officers whose duty it is to furnish such forage, articles of subsistence or other property for such army." *Public Laws of the Confederacy*, First Congress, Session III, chap. 10, 1863. This property was to be paid for by the Confederacy at a set price though the individual had some recourse in deciding the price of articles. A typical impressment notice follows. The printed form contained blank places and the underlined parts here were written on the original notice in handwriting.

.....County, State of.....
Jan. *19* 1865

To Mr.....

Sir,- I am authorized by the Commissary General of the Confederate States, under the laws of Impressment, to collect supplies for the army, and you are hereby notified that I require for use of the army of *the Confederate States* all the *surpulus pork or bacon* you have, except what the laws aforesaid authorize you to retain. From the best evidence I can obtain, the amount you have on hand liable to impressment is [Space is available for an estimate, but no estimate is made on this particular form.]

I offer in payment for the same *the sum of three dollars for pork and four dollars for Bacon per pound* . [This] being the price fixed by the Commissioner for *North Carolina* in the schedule for the month of *January* 186.... which you can receive at your election, to be made when this notice is served, in Confederate money, 6 per cent, non-taxable certificates, or such articles as I am authorized by the Department to exchange for subsistence.

Should you decline to sell for the price offered, or object to my estimate of your surplus you are hereby notified that the said property is impressed for the Government, and the whole subject can be referred to arbitrators for settlement, as provided for by said laws.

The said property will be left in your possession, and at your risk, until it is called for, or the appraisement is made, and you are notified not to sell or remove the same." In A. M. and W. P. Mangum, Southern Historical Collection.

[64] See p. 51, n. 29.

for I had several to help me William Lytten has Obliged me Every Chance I cannot write any More now I am on guard to Day tell the Children — I will write to them again kiss them all for me tell Eveline howdy

D McRaven

Jan 12th 1865

My Dear husband I have not got a letter from you since last Friday I have been uneasy to hear from you Mr Carrigan sent me word that you were sick when he was there we are all well to day Jeff has not been well for two or three days but he is better to day he complained of head ache and his bones aching he never stop working he was makeing fence this week he commenced at the barn gate and run it down and crossed the branch below the road and turned water in that field so we can put the calves in there to be handy to roughness and where we milk he was at the shop yesterday and got the plows fixed to plow when the ground get in fix he has not got that fence between you and john made yet Alsy is flying round as lively as you please chopping or doing any thing that is to do Jeff is well pleased to and stayes at home moste all the time now I have been spinning you pants to day I dont get very much done with my four little children following after me Joe is going to school every day that is fit to go I am going to send Sis when the weather get a little better so she can go that triflin Columb McCoy was here yesterday presing corn I got off with five bushels if they dont come on me again he said they was a man going round that would measure the crib I dont know whether he was triing to scare me or not if he was he never got it done it keeps me buizy to hold my hand with mean folks Stenhouse came here to borrow the corn sheller to shell corn I would not let him have it every few dayes there is some body wanting Jeff to do something I dont let him help them unless it some particular one I got the lock you sent Elem Henderson brought it to me brother Albert is [at] Petersburg he has joined the church since he went out there Joe is at Petersburg to Albert drawed off the way the army was fixed out there and sent it to Doctor Johnson he said it was the greatest thing he had saw since the war commenced McRaven I sent you some things by Mr Johnson son yesterday it was late when he let me know he was going and I did not have time to do much or to write much let me know if you got your things when you write I sent you a bottle of brandy uncle Tom Kerns was here one day last week and Mr Caldwell called here one evening this week they both asked very particular for you McRaven I do want to see you so bad I think some time you see so much to draw your attention you will moste forget your wife and children Eveline sayes a man never loves but one woman is that so I will have to stop writing it [is] nearly ten o clock they are all a sleep but Isabela and myself I forgot to tell you I got my new shoes to day John made

them I am to give him a bushel of corn the children have their shoes nearly wore out little Elick is still better write soon the children talks about you every day they want to see you very bad Mollie ask every night to say her prayers I think the little baby is very smart it grows very fast it has clear blue eyes

Your affectionate wife

A. McRaven

Jany 13th 1865

Dear wife I received a few lines By Lawrance Johnson last night and More I got all the good things that you sent me you Ought to have seen how quick the Bottle of Brandy Disappeared it would have Done you good But it would Do Me more god to see you than all the Cakes and Brandy you Could send and you know that I Love Brandy— I am well and I am on Duty to Day and only have time [to] write you a few lines. I will send Jo a little pocket Book Do not let him carry it to school for he will loose it I have not got any newyears gift for you yet I would rather fetch myself Down to you than to send any thing— we had a Big fire in Salisbury this morning just after sun up it Burnd a good Chance but I am on guard and Could not go near to see how mutch Damage was Done it is Stoped now[65] and I will Stop writing to mount guard hoping to see you befor Long

D McRaven

[This is on the back of the same letter.]

4 o-clock in the Evening I am off to get my supper I have nothing to tell this Evening only I am well and will get no sleep to night I send you a large Darning needle in this Letter and a few Postage Stamps

Yours truly D McRaven

Jany 18th 1865

Amanda I have ben working hard for 3 Days Covering a Cabbin for the Col. and Making Boards to Cover a guard house[66] and now I have a few minutes to spare I am sitting on some Board

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[65] The local newspaper, *The Carolina Watchman*, stated on January 13, 1865, that "A fire was discovered at 7 A.M. in a vacant store room in the G. W. Brown building, now the property of J. H. Ennis. It spread with great rapidity to right and left and rear. Almost every wood building in Murphey's block and three south of it were destroyed. The Ennis brick building now occupied by the Commissary Department arrested fires on the north. The buildings of the Q. M. Department were destroyed, and with them some property, but how much is not yet known. The loss of movable property, either public or private was not great. The fire is believed to have been the work of an incendiary." *Fayetteville Observer*, January 16, 1865, excerpt from *The Carolina Watchman*, Salisbury, January 13, 1865.

[66] Much has been written about the shelter shortage at the Salisbury Prison. Prisoners considered the detailing of prisoners to build such log houses as one solution to their shelter problem at the prison. Booth, *Dark Days of Rebellion*, 136-137. An inspector of the prison, using his hindsight in February, 1865, stated that "A better plan would have been, failing to obtain a sufficient supply of tents, to have constructed cabins of pine logs and shingles, for which the material was at hand in abundance, and labor could have been furnished by the troops, or, if necessary, by details of the prisoners themselves, working under guard." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 247. The Confederacy had no real excuse for this negligence. Shortage of tools, the small guard, and the fear that the prisoners might break away from such details and create much depredation upon the community were reasons that this program was never adopted. J. W. Jones, *Confederate View of the Treatment of the Prisoners*, 179, 164.

bath [?] waiting for the waggan to come and haul it round to our camp I will spend the time writing a few lines to you Amanda you have no Idea how bad I want to see you you you mote [sic] of being afraid that I would forget you Rest Easy on that Score for I have many a Lonely hour to stand and nothing to Chear me Except it is thoughts of you my once hapy home and its surroundings it is true that there is a portion of my time spent in a crowd but there is a good portion spent intirely alone when on post and During that time I am not allowed to speak Except to hail and stop any one who may Chance to come on my Beat which is very seldom, in these hours I tramp many a weary mile walking constantly to keep myself warm[67] and watching the prisoners little fires and thinking of the comforts of home and the society of wife and children, But I will tire you prosing in this manner I am Enjoying good health and I still live in hopes that there are happy Days in store for me yet I try to be faithful to may Duty and have never been too sick to Eat or mount guard since I came here, I have ben working near the gate where the yankies are hauled out to Bury there was 4 Loads went out to Day 8 at a Load it is now about 3 o clock it looks bad to see humanity so carelessly Delt with it would shock any one not used to sutch sights[68] but we see it Every Day and it has lost its Effect on us tell Jeff to Commence ploughing when the weather is good I want him to plough the ground deep and Close h can begin when he likes tell him to use his own judgment about many things for I cannot think of the farm mutch while I am here, you are right not to lend things Every one for if any tool is lost or broke I cannot get any more tell Jeff to keep my tool together and by and fix for a crop and do the best he can you never told me if hunter gave you the things I sent with him he is sick and I Do not see him often he is not bad. I sent Jo a pocket Book by Lee Brown put it away for him he will loss it as school I must

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[67] One prisoner's impression of the activity of the guards bears out these statements. He could ". . . distinctly hear the steady tramp, tramp of the rebel guards as they walked their beats. . . ." on the stockade wall. "I could hear them cry out in genuine southern dialect: 'Post number f-o-a-h; f-o-a-h o'clock, and all is well.' " This was taken up by post number five and continued around the stockade, being repeated every thirty minutes. Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 269-270.

[68] In November, 1864, one prisoner described this feature of Salisbury Prison thus: "About 2 o'clock the 'dead-wagon' made its daily tour of the grounds, halting at the 'Dead House' to load in the bodies lying there, and them passing out at the south gate to the grave yard, or trenches, which are about 250 yards south west of the prison. The 'Dead House' was a small brick building, situated near the center of the stockade. . . . The dead are gathered up during the forenoon, brought to the 'dead house' and piled up against the end like sacks of grain, counted by a sergeant who registers the number in a book kept for that purpose." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 121-122. Ten days later this same prisoner said, "I went out with the water squad today and, through the kindness of the gray-beard guards, we went to the creek by way of the grave yard. We were there while they were unloading the dead, and hardened as we were to sights of suffering and acts of inhumane treatment among the living, the scenes at the grave yard were such as made the blood almost run cold in our veins. There were twelve or fifteen corpse piled on the wagon, laied [*sic*] in like hogs, and entirely destitute of covering of any kind. Two men stood on the wagon and each taking hold of a foot and a hand of a corpse, would give it a swing or two and then heave it head long into the trench, piling them up three or four deep, and hastily covering them over with a few shovelsfull of dirt." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 157-158.

Another prisoner described the exit of the dead very vividly. "Into this [the wagon] the dead forms were thrown one upon another like the carcasses of dead animals, their arms and legs, hanging over the sides of the box; the white, ghastly faces, with glassy, staring eyes and dropped jaws, formed a horrible sight never to be forgotten. . . ." R. A. Dempsey, "An Account from the Ranks," 178.

write to the children [At the top of the next page] Amanda I left no room to sign my name to your letter Joseph I want you to be a good Boy at school and try to learn you have been a very good Boy and has halped mother all that you could I have sent you a pocket Book Because I love my Boy Joseph [illegible]
Ellen I would rather kiss my Little pet than to write to you But I hope to come home some day and get Siss to roast me some potatoes and hunt some Eggs then we will be very happy
Ellen I McRaven
What can I say to prety Mary my sweet Child you will kiss mother for me then the Baby and Joe and Siss then when Father comes home I will kiss my little Mary

Mary McRaven
Your pa D McRaven

Jan 19th 1865

My Dear husband I received a short letter from you by Lee Brown I was glad to hear you [Torn away] I am very proud of the needle you sent me I would rather have it than the knife and scissors you sent me but I rather you would send you self than any thing I can think of if a few more of the men gets home from there I will begin to think you dont want to come home you ought to come home to see our little babe how pretty it is we are all well to day Jo is at school I think he learns better than he did when he went to school before I started Sis to school this week but [torn away] graduated in two dayes but I am going to make her go on I think she will learn very well I sent to Charlotte and got her a book I got John to go up and give in our returns yesterday we have 24 bushels of tithe corn and five bushels of press corn to send to College they made a reserve of sixty bushels of corn to fatten hogs I sent our cotton to Mr. A. Alexanders Monday and got picked I got it back home tuesday Jeff is making that fence between you and John to day he is moste done it John promised to help him but he never done it [torn away] sides of the fence to clean off Isabella and myself put your pants in the loom to day Isabella is weaving them you shant have your pants until you come home after them Isabela took two webs in to day to weave one for Mrs Caldwell McRaven I want you to get me a pound of salts if you can I cant get any in Charlotte I dont know when John is going to see you he is still talking about going [word torn away] has been sick he is better now [he] has got so he can be up you must oblige William Little when you can Sis sayes he thinks there is no body like you Mollie sayes tell pa to tell her howdy Bellah send howdy to you Sis and Jo sends howdy to you I put ten dollars in this letter to pay for the salts if you can get them I have nothing new to write to you ought to see Jeff hideing wheat from the pressers he sayes the poor folks are all talking about our corn crib write soon your wife

A. McRaven

Jany 21st 18[65]

Amanda I have just read your Letter it Does me good to hear from you and I feeal thankful that you and the children keep your health I am well I have been working hard this week makeing a guard house Mrs William Archer & Mrs Burwel Cashon came here Last Evening it is very Bad weather for women to be Out in Sutch a place as this the Sleet is Breaking the trees all around and Over us I have been Looking for some one to be killed all day but I have not heard of any one being mutch hurt yet[69] Amanda you must never come here it is a bad place for a woman Mrs Cashon is sick to Day with the headache it puts me in mind of your spells I wish you would try if Ester Smith would take pay or part pay for Alseys hire I am afraid the money will not be mutch account again next Christmas I went up into Town and got you them salts I got 3/4 of a lb for 10 Dollars there is a rumor afloat now that these Yankies will be sent on for to be Exchanged if it is so perhaps I may get home a while If not I am afraid it will be a good while before my turn will come no one that has been home can get a furlough untill the Company all gets home once there can only 3 go at a time from our Company and there is about 16 to go before my turn will come you must not think that I do not want to go home and see you I only want to go too Bad, I will send you Salts and these few lines by Mrs Archer she may have a chance to send it to you or Over to James Blacks and Wash will take them to you you have never said how wash has Done since I Came away, tell him howdy for me any way, my finger has not got well yet the End has not a right feeling I wore a leather Stall on it it hurts me more writing than any thing I try to do the pen presses right on the sore

Yours Truly D McRaven

Sunday Jany 22d 1865

Amanda I sent you some things and a few Lines By Mrs Archer yesterday But I find you will not get them untill you send for them I got your Salts about 3/4 of a lb for 10 Dollars I would have got a pound while I was at it but I had spent all my money but one Dollar I sent your Bottle and an Iran Bolt for the front Door you can get a Small steeple made and get John Beard to fix it on I only get 3 screws with it you can find one in the Dest I think When you send Jeff after your Salts Look in my Trunk and get them two papers of powder one is Burwells the other is Wilsons and send with Jeff tell him what they are, so that he may not get them weet or go near the fire with them and get Blown up he Can go past James Blacks it is two miles from there they can tell him the Road you need not send me any money we will Draw some in a few Days I think Mrs Archer and Mrs Cashan

[69] On January 24 the local newspaper stated that "This section of the country was last week visited by the heaviest sleet which has fallen within the memory of our oldest man. A great deal of timber has been broken down by it." *Fayetteville Observer*, Jan. 30, 1865, an excerpt from *The Carolina Watchman*, Jan. 24, 1865.

Left here this morning they have had a rough trip I Do not [want] you Ever to attempt to come here I want to see you as bad as it is possible for any one But *not here, not here* I dont recollect any thing more I wish to tell you Except to tell Jeff to plow whenever the ground is in fix But be sure and not plow when the ground is too weet he can Cleanup and sprout or make Rails and Cut wood when not plowing tell him to Scatter that Stuff that we hauled on the ground before he plowed it I am well and resting to Day for the first [time in] a long time, tell Gilly and Jeff howdy, and tell Isabella that I would like to see her tell Sister Eveline that I would Write her a Letter But I am pushed to get time to write to my Wife and many times I have to stand on my feet while I Scribble a few lines to you that and my sore fing[er] accounts for so many Bad Letters you must kiss little Molly and tell her to kiss the little Baby for her pay, tell Joseph and Siss their pa will not forget them Bell [Isabella] you must get married to Alfred and maybe I can get home to the wedding[70]

D McRaven

Jan 26th 1865

My Dear husband I received [a] letter from you last night that was wrote sunday [Iwas glad to hear] you were well and not frozed up down there this cold bad weather I think of you often them bad dayes and nights I have not got them things from Mrs Archers yet Jeff is gone after them now we are all well this morning we commenced Monday morning to shuck and shell our tithe and press corn I sent Jeff up to College monday evening to get sacks to put it in he got sacks and we put it up Tuesday I stayed at the barn tuesday evening meashuring up corn and sewing up sacks untill I was moste frozed all the children with me I cant go no where for them Jeff took one load up yesterday and he will take the ballance up to morrow I have to go up to the College next Tuesday or Wednesday to get pay for the press corn they give the selling price the law is to take the corn to the College and then to Charlotte but Mr Hunter said he would try and slip us out of haveing to hall it to Charlotte if he could I sent Jeff to the tanyard to see if our leather was taned and to know what that side would cost it will not be out untill March and he thought it would cost one hundred and fifty dollars I am going to take it if you are willing I would rather have it than so much of that no account money I have Jeff has just got back from Archers with the things you sent by her he got all that you wrote about sending I got all you sent by Mr Hunter and all you sent by Lee Brown but my pokes you sent Jeff give Jo one of them old five dollar bills to put in his pocket Book he is very proud of it I like to read the letter you sent by Mrs Archer you talk about comeing home in it I like to attend to the things out of doors and farming buizness if it was not for so many little children following after

[70] Incidentally, Isabella Nantz married Solomon Sifford.

me they bother me very much you wanted to know how wash done he has done very well since you left if he has done any thing rong I dont know it they have all done very well as far as I know Jeff keeps buizy and I think he does the best he knows but you know things are not carried on as well as if you were about I dont know very much about farming to give directions I am pleased with Alsy so far she dont stand back from work no where she spins every night untill nine or ten oclock for her self Jeff and Alsy is cutting fire wood this evening I had James Williams part of two dayes last week he is [with] Jim yet he is gone to Petersburg now he said he would write to you and me and if we did not answer his letters he would he would quit Jo is going to school every day I think he is learning very well for the time he has been going he told me to tell you howdy and tell you he could spell Baker Sis never went but two dayes the weather is to bad to send her and she dont want to go Mollie is fat as she can be when you tell her to kiss any one for you she payes it up with intrust it does her a great deal of good for you to write any thing to her I think our little babe is very smart you would think it was four or five months old if you would see it Minty sayes [torn away] you there's good deal of dady in it has pale blue eyes Isabella sayes she will marry Alfred if that will bring you home but if she has to marry Alf she sayes she will take your new pants for him let me know when you want your pants and vest I have them wove I have been trying every where to get wool and fur to make you and Jo a hat apeace and I cant get any there is report up here that ——— ——— was shot last week for deserting and for a spie I have not heard whether it is so or not I have a dram saveing for you yet I am looking for them two waggons a long this week I will get some more if they have it Gilly and Alsy send howdy to you and to tell you to come home they want to have a quilting I do want to see my old man so bad write soon I want to see your sore finger it must hurt this cold weather when it gets cold your wife

A. McRaven

[Written across the top of this letter and upside down is this—]

I was sorry I did not send more money to get the salts I thought that would get a pound I send one dollar get me some more stamps

Sunday Jany 29th 1865

Amanda I have just Read a good Long letter from you It has Done me mutch good for I though it a long time since I heard from you I am well and am still on Detail working at a Cabbin for Col. Stowe I have worked hard last week but get [to] sleep at nights this has been a very cold week and I have never ben to say cold since I came here untill last Tuesday since then I have Suffered being mostly stuck on the top of a Cabbin or Building a Chimbly Julia was here the day before yesterday she Came here

to see Elbert he is in the quartermasters Employ, I took her round the Garrison she had Junius and siss with her it was so very Cold that she had not Satisfaction I was Down at the Depot yesterday morning to see her start home I thought the children would have froze Julia wants to see you [she] says she cannot Even hear from you She is well and she saye that Martha is well and she cannot tell when any of them Can go to see you I want to go home to see you and my little Baby but I cannot tell when I can get of there is rumors that these yankees will be sent for Exchange shortly But I have been Deceived so often that I am slow to believe any thing that I hear I intend to try to get a leave of absence from Col Stowe as soon as I get Done Building Cabbins I think he will try to get me off for a few Days it will be a week or more before I get Done what I have on hand and there may be some more to build that they have not told me of, you need not send my Cloths yet I Can Do a while longer without them and it will be an Excuse for me to go home to get them My new pants are getting very thin but there is no hole in them yet if it keeps on being Cold I will have to put the others on over them they will then keep me warm but it will be a fine time for the lice I have to make a killing match Every now and them as it is I got my shirts and Drawers washed as often as I can I have to pay 75cts a garment for washing I would like to see John Beard if he can leave home to come and see him but tell him not to come while the weather is so cold it would be a Bad trip now if he should Come any time when the weather gets better tell him to tramp some good Clean Straw in his waggan Bed we need something to make our Bed with Straw is scarce round here and it soon wers out and get lise in it and we have to throw it Out and Steal more[71] My Mess has most of them got supplies from home pieces of pork and so on if you Should send any thing just send a piece of side or a shoulder raw But I can live on the rations I get Let Joseph come with John if it is not Bad weather I would like to see my Boy if I thought he would be safe and he would have many things to tell you when he would get Back, Amanda I want you to be Shure and Secure Both sides of that Leather at the tanyard no matter about the price if it should Cos 200 Dollars or more it will be needed I want it all it is Better than money, If the weather is Bad next Friday you had Better try and get John C Cloer [name not too legible] to go and get your pay for the corn this weather is too Bad for you and the Baby to be out I want you to take good care and not Expose yourself you are more to me than all that [I] possess on Earth and the Children need a Mothers care that no one is capable of Bestowing on them like you, I like for you to be Out and see when the weather is suitable but in Cold bad weather stay in the house till I come and find my

[71] Much official complaint was made of a scarcity of straw for use in the hospitals. No official excuse was given; in fact, the inspector felt that ". . . there is no excuse. . . ." He thought that ". . . straw could have been obtained in abundance at any time. . . ." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 248. This statement on the part of McRaven indicates that there was a real scarcity of straw in the vicinity of Salisbury at this time.

wife Safe and in good helth tell Bella to be a good girle and she shant have Old Alf peaples tell Gilly and Jeff and Alsy howdy and if Mingo[72] knowed I would say howdy to him

D McRaven

[Written across the top of this letter.] I Drawed about 90 Dollars pay I am spending it freely

Friday Feb 3d 1865

Amanda I received a few lines written by you on Last Sunday It Done me good to know that you were thinking of me and writing to me about the same time that I was engaged writing to you for I wrote you on Sunday Evening I am well I had a prety severe attack of that Cold for two or three Days but not bad enough to Stop me from work I finished Building Cabbins the Day before yesterday and went on guard yesterday I have just got off it is snown a little I hate to see it I have had Enough Cold weather to satisfy me But I stand the cold Better than any one that I see, I have the advantage of hard raising it has learned me to suffer without complaint Some of Our men are very Easy to give up there still are some of them runing away I hate to see it, and it makes Our Duties more hard and [prevents] us from getting furloughs I want to see you worse than any of [them] that run off but I could not [look] you in the face if I was to Desert and be Brought Back and guarded night and Day like a Criminal we have about thirty of our Regiment in the guard house and more to put in I have not [tried] for a Chance to go home yet as it would not be worth while yet I intend to try Before long Robt Hunter Come Back to Day he was sent to Charlotte on some Business and got home one Day he told me you were well he told me that President Davis told Wm Johnson Last week that our Regiment would be sent home in time to Rais a Crop this summer I hope it is so for I want to get Close Beside you and sit and talk about one week I think a great Deal about you and the Children Bless my Sweet Babies this is a rough world they are just Entering into May Heaven Shiled them from the Stormy life that has been my Lot But I am grumbling without Cause you and [me] are Blessed with health and have Enough to live upon and I have good health here, I am being unthankful Moses Alexander keeps shaking the Bench nodding so that I can hardly write kiss all my Children and tell Eveline Beard [?] I would like to see her and her mother and all

D McRaven

Feb 5th 1865

Amanda My Dear wife I got your letter yesterday I was glad I am allways glad to hear from you if it could be so I would wish to hear from you twice a Day I am well the cold is hurting me a

[72] Perhaps this is a dog, though no one can remember whether this is true or not.

little but I can Eat like a wolf and stand guard when my turn comes Amanda I do not think it would be prudent to let Jo come here at this time for we had one case of mumps here last week I do not wish any Disease to be taken in the family that we can avoid I hope we will no more of us take them I will let you know if we do Dixon Ewart wished to get supplies from home and says that Elem Henderson will come if you wish to send Jeff he can take Dixans waggan mine is not safe to make the trip you can send him if you like but I am not suffering, I do not think I can get home there is 12 men to go before I can go the men running away makes it hard on us Amanda I Bought you a newyears gift Last week I gave 40 dollars for a gold ring for you it is about the weight of the one you lost I got a Yankey Cap for Jo yesterday I wish he had it it is a cloth Cap and will do him in the winter I wish you had your Ring but I will not trust it in a letter you must not throw it away because I Bought it from a Yankey and you must not Scold me for Spending my money an onion goes here for a Dollar a tart with one good mouthful of peaches in it is 2 Dollars apples 4 dollars p Doz tell Albert I Like home the best tell Jo when he gets his Cap he must not tare it kiss pretty Molly for me and tell her the old Yankys Climb over the fence when the gate is shut[73]– Do not let Jeff come in Bad freezing weather it is so hard on the horses feet

D McRaven

Feb 7th 1865
Tuesday night

My Dear husband I have nothing particular to write to you only to tell we are all well and I sewed hard all day yesterday to get your pants done for you to put on last night when you come home but when I got your letter last night it killed all my joy the children were as badly disappointed as I were when I get a letter from you they all three get as close to me as they can I cant read your letter for them asking what pa said about me and what did pa say about me that is all I can hear untill I tell them something we have plenty of snow and sleat to day and I have my troubles to keep the children out of it and from eating it I have been poutting all day about you not getting home Hunter has been home three times since you were I cant see whey they make the difference Wm Beard came home yesterday morning he is well he come to get boxes for his company he told me to tell you he would be in Salisbury next Tuesday night going back he said he might go Monday night but he thought he would not go untill Tuesday night Marcus Dellinger come home Sunday evening in 18 dayes furlough it is reported over the river that Brotherton

[73] This mode of escape should not have succeeded very often and it is just possible that McRaven is referring to the escape of four prisoners by this means on the night of January 24. This prisoner later wrote that "On the 24th of January I, with several others, after several attempts to get out of Salisbury Prison . . . made our escape by climbing over the stockade." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 357. These prisoners reached their lines February 27, 1865.

is dead I am very sorry to hear it if it is so for I think as much of him as are [any] Brotherinlaw I had I think Julia would have told you if it had been so I have not saw any one from over [the] river since Christmas only Isabella she is still staying with me she is weaving for Mrs Caldwell when the weather is fit Beal has been bad sick I heard him and Ellen Blythe was going to get married I dont know whether it is so or not Jo Beards wife got so smart she was obliged to get married McRaven you must burn that last letter I wrote to you I was a little rathy that day I dont push my self on any one I dont know when John is going to see you I dont think he will go soon he come up last night and got your gun to go after Turkey I have not payed doctor Willson yet I have never saw him since I got well I will make Jeff take me down there while the ground is to wet to plow and pay him fan has got so full of her self I am afraid to drive her untill she is worked awhile Jeff has plowed to dayes that was last Saturday and yesterday he said the ground was in nice fix for plowing I I have very good health since I got up if I take care of my self I cant stand much exspossure I never got well until I turned to drinking I never drank all my liquor I have [a] bottle ful saving for you but you must come home and get it I am going to make you a coarse woollen vest to morrow to keep you warm these cold bad dayes and nights our school is out next week I am sorry it is out so soon Joe is just getting in a good way to learn he likes his book better than he did before he went to school the children want to see you very bad Mollie tore sis letter you sent her she has cried a good many times about it since they are very proud of them McRaven you dont know how glad I would be if you were setting here by this good warm fire to night with me it is nine oclock they are all a sleep but Isabella and Jo he is setting here talking about you telling me things to write to you and Jeff is in the kitchen peging on old shoes he gets as much as he can do at nights him and Gilly and Alsy all send howdy to you and say they want to see you Jo and Isabella send howdy to you I would rather put my arm around your neck than any thing I can think of I am not going to set any more time for you to come home I dont like to be so bad disappointed you would love our little baby if you would see it it is so lively and bright Mollie sayes she will kiss all the sweet of it before you come home tell them you love best down there to kiss you for me write soon I will send to the office to morrow evening to get a letter from you your wife

A. McRaven

Feb 9th 1865

My Dear husband I sent Jeff to Mr Ewarts and Mr Elem Henderson this evening to see if he would go with Jeff to Salisbury he said he would go Mrs Ewart said she would have come up to see me if the weather had not been so bad about sending

you and [him some]thing I am going [to send something] I will let [Joe] go he [is standing on the] top of his head about going Mrs. Ewart is going to let her little boyes go if you have the mumps dont let them sleep with any one that has them or eat after anyone that has them and I dont think they will take them but if there is any one have them in your shanty next week and I hear it I will not let him go if it is good weather they will go some time next week Mrs Ewart is not ready she has some clothes to make you must write to me and let me know if I must send your pants and vest with them I will not write any more untill they come back I will send word by Wm Beard Tuesday night if we are all well Jeff got shoes put on fans fore feet and I will have some old shoes put on dock before he goes we are all well to night this is Thursday night tell Mr Ewart his folks were all well late this evening McRaven I dont know what I will do for you for that fine present when I get it I am very much oblige to you for it I do think the time [will never come] [torn away] to see you it is four mon[ths since you went to] Salisbury this b[ad weather makes me] uneasy about you you might catch your death out in so much bad weather we dont get any thing done only make fires and eat Sis has been hunting all evening for an union to send to you she has not get one yet I am going to send you some egges I will send you a dram if I can get it I have but one bottle full and I [am] going to save that until you come home I wrote to night to let you know I will send Jeff next week if the weather is fit I dont know whitch is the best pleased him or Jo about it you must write by Mondayes mail if you can this is not much of a letter it is late and I wrote in a hurry all [are] a sleep but Isabella and myself

A. McRaven

[Saturday] Feb 11th 1865

Amanda I got a letter from you this morning I am always glad to hear from you. I think John Johnson will get a furlough to Day, I write this Expecting to send it By him as I want him to go over and see you and the Children when he gets home you Can make your own time about sending Jeff you may let Jo Come there is no Mumps here now I Cannot write mutch I am guard at the time and have to Be ready to go at a minutes warning Johnson can tell you how we are getting allong. I feeal very Sore to Day Cold I suppose but I am well you may send my pants & vest by Jeff and I will send the pants I have on Back they are wore out in the Seat, I will send your Ring and Jos Cap By Johnson You must not send any Brandy But keep it untill I get home I only take one Dram out of a Bottle full and give the rest to my mess mates I want to go and see you as soon as I can it will be 3 or four weeks Before I need try and then I am not sure of getting off I will not attempt to tell you any thing this time for the time is out for me to go to guard. tell Jeff if he

starts here to be sure and not push the horses two fast and to take care of Jo. Tell Sis I will write her another Letter before Long tell Mollie howdy and when Jo starts he must mind Jeff and not get hurt– Tell Bell howdy, I will be at the Depot Tuesday night to meet Williams yours D. McRaven

Feb 13th 1865

My Dear Husband I will send you a few lines by William to let you know that Mr Johnson come up this morning to see me you dont know how glad I was to see him he gave me the ring you sent and Jo his cap I am very proud of my present and so is Jo I have not been well since last Friday I had the headach very bad Friday all day and at night my head got better and I got nervous and my heart a fluttering at spells I have felt bad ever since I still have fluttering at the heart yet by spells it makes me feal very uneasy about myself when I was so bad off the other night I could not think about any thing but you and my children McRaven I send you a little snack by William to do you untill the waggan goes Mr Johnson wants the waggan to wait untill Saturday and for Elem not to go now so they can make two trips Elem and his boy and Mr Ewart two little boyes and Lee Brown sayes he is a going and Jo and Jeff if they all go they will have to put more horses to the waggan for I will not let our horses pull all them down there they will be there some time this week if the weather is fit and we all keep well I have not heard from Mrs Ewart what time she will be ready I got a letter from brother Jo Saturday he is well and he is still at Staunton Va he said he would come home this winter but he cant get to his companey to get a furlough he thinks [the] Yankees is going to whip us now he said the ladies gave them a big dinner the 7 of last month he said I ought to have been there to see him eating McRaven I put two apples in the box for you save my trash box and sent it back with Jeff you must come home and see our little baby moste every body sayes it is a right McRaven Jo and Sis and [Molly] are getting pretty rapped I dont whip them enough write soon as you can I am always glad to hear from you

your wife A. McRaven

Feb 15th 1865

Dear Amanda I received a few lines from you last night I am allways glad to hear from you. I saw William I had but a few words with him. I was glad to see John I have not had mutch talk with him yet I was on guard last night and have not been off Long I am well I was a little Down since Johnson left But am all right again what you sent me was good you ought to have seen me Chawing Chicken Bones last night I came in at Eleven o clock Cold and hungry to rest untill 2 I sat by a warm fire and Eat Cakes and thought of you I hope I will get to see you before

long but I do not know when there is no Doubt but there will a general Exchange of prisoners Soon I hope I then will get to see you a while then I will not try to write mutch now John Can tell you all the news. You are right about so many Coming with the wagan I told Johnson I would like for him to Come with the waggan, Dixan Ewart is sick and in the hospital I do not think his little Boys ought to come I think Dixan will be sent home soon he is getting better I wish you to make sutch arrangements for Jeff to come as suits you but Do not let him come when the weather is Bad, no matter who wants to come with him, I am sorry to hear that you are not so well James Johnson sayes his wife has had something like palpitations of the Hart for a number of years. when she feals it she just takes a little sup of Brandy by Directions of Dr. Rankin it relieves her there is a man in Our Company Jo Rass a fine man he has the same he all ways Carries a little Brandy about him I have saw him have his spells on guard he takes a small sup and it allways relieves him in a short time and he continues his walk on the scaffold you must not be uneasy about yourself good spirits my wife– I send some Buttons to Sis and Molly Divide them as well as you can

[D. McRaven]

Salisbury N.C.
Feby 22nd 1865

Mrs. Amanda McRaven,
Dear Madam

In accordance to promise to your Husband David A. McCraven I write you a few lines in very great haste, to inform you that Mr. McCraven left here to day with a wagen to assist in Carrying the prisoners, on the way to Greensboro, he at first was told he would not have to go but before they were quite ready they told him he must go, so he informed me that he had not time to write to you, So all the Prisoners, white and Black left here to day[74] all were able had to march on foot there was a string of Yankee prisoners & negroes about 2 1/2 or 3 miles long they were very cheerful and glad to leave and I think more of us are glad they are gone, Mr. McCraven told me to say to you that he was well and expected to return about next Wednesday, there were about Five hundred went with them Col. Hoke, Col. Stowe & Col. Copening I believe all went. So did Wm. Little

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[74] On February 16, 1865, the commander of the Salisbury Prison received information that "A general exchange of prisoners has been agreed upon, and the entire exchange will be effected in as short a time as possible. The information can be given the prisoners." *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 238. This news reached the prisoners on the twenty-first and, according to one prisoner, then ". . . the commotion began. Such shouting and singing! No tongue nor pen can describe the joy and happiness this welcome message brought to the prisoners." On February 22 "About half past 12 o'clock the men were formed into columns and marched out at the north gate protected on each side by a heavy guard of rebel soldiers." Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 285. The prisoners marched to Greensboro and arrived there February 25th. (*Official Records*, 2, VIII, 449-50.) and entered their own lines at Wilmington, North Carolina, March, 2, 1865, Booth, *Dark Days of the Rebellion*, 304-305.

There were 5,149 prisoners liberated from Salisbury Prison at this time. *Official Records*, ser. 2, VIII, 449.

Alfred Childers and many more of our neighbors it may be better for them to be in that direction than to stay here untill the fight is over below Charlotte or Chester General Hoke's Division are on their way to General Beauregard So we need not fear much here or even at Charlotte, Although it seems from appearances that times are very Squally I feel very much like if Old Sherman ever gets to Salisbury I would not wonder at his destroying every thing in the place[75] because of wickedness for I do think it a very wicked place indeed I see so much of it daily both men & women are very Corrupt indeed I mean generally speaking there are some very nice people here but they are but few in number I feel like I am almost ruined at home not having any one to work for me but I trust there is a better time coming, My folks were all well a few days ago, I would be glad to hear from you all at any time, I remain your true friend untill death

E[lbert] L. Sherrill

Sunday Feb 26– 1865

Amanda I Embrace the first Opertunity to Drop you a few lines. I Landed at Greensborough yesterday evening I am Detailed to stay with the Cols waggan I have ben traveling very hard since tuesday at 11 o clock and have just now got time to sit down and write to you I was hurried of from Salisbury and I ask Elbert Sherrill to write for me and let you know which I suppose he had Done I am well and harty, I have had but little to Eat since I Left Salisbury the Col sent on a head for rashans for us and the prisoners but there was a train Broke Down on the track and we Could get none I started with two raw potatoes and never had time to roast but one this morning I scorched the last One a little and Eat it as I went Back to town without waggan I have just Come Back and Masy Alexander had us a good Breackfast of warm Corn Bread and ham he Brought a ham that Jeff fetched to Salisbury and I fetched one lump of Butter that you sent me, we left Salisbury with about five thousand yanks there was a great many of them gave Out it has been raining all the time all the water courses was up and the waggans had to Leave they army and ground a great ways to head the streams we Expect to start Back to Salisbury in a Day or two the prisoners are Being sen of on the Rail Road from here as fast as possible I Do not know wheather I will get to go home when I get

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[75] The expressed fear of Sherrill did not take place if we believe the account of the destruction of the depot and prison on April 12, 1865, by General George Stoneman as related by two natives of Salisbury. One resident said: "Salisbury was not unduly incensed against General Stoneman. He obeyed his orders and destroyed the stores, but also gave guards to all who asked for them. He restrained looting, and little unnecessary havoc was made in the dwellings of town. Although he was a sick man while he stayed in Salisbury, he found means to prevent such burning and destruction as took place so wantonly in Columbia, South Carolina, and with impunity in many other less important places." H. S. Chamberlain, *This Was Home* (Chapel Hill, 1938), 120.

Another account said of Stoneman: "With all the pillaging, plundering and burning that the raiders had done, Salisbury, comparing her lot with that of Columbia and Fayetteville, may well afford to hold Stoneman's name in grateful remembrance." Grace Beal Ramsey, *Salisbury Post*, September 23, 1932.

Back or not I will have to stay with the wagans untill we get Back the rest of the Regiment I supose will go Back on the train I want to see you very Badly Amanda Our Country is Being Over run by the Enemy and I fear Our Caus is lost but I want you to keep up hart and not Dispond and if any Yankies Should come past and take any thing from [you or us] Do not be Scared but let them take what they want, for if I am Spared to get back to you I am able to make Bread for you and the Children yet there is some talk that our Regiment will get home a while when we go back I hope it is so for we need rest, I want to hear from you Badly you Can write as soon as you get this and Direct to Salisbury as I Expect to be there in a few Days tell Jeff he Ought to haul out the Stable manure and put it in the Cotton Drills before the ground gets hard he had Better put Cotton where it was Last year tell him if he has any rough manure he can haul it on the corn ground and before he Breaks it up tell him to try and put his corn in a good fix tell all the Children howdy for me and kiss my Dear little Baby, Oh but I want to see it and you and all, tell Gilly and Alsy and Wash and Jeff howdy

Remember me to Johns folks and feed Mingo well

Your husband D McRaven

Salisbury March 3rd 1865

Amanda I am once more in Salisbury I got to William Lytles yesterday Evening about two hours by sun and found they had all gone Saturday morning but myself and Masy Alexander We pushed on to Charlotte Last night and got our Transportation ready then went Out beyond town and made us a little fire and stayed untill this morning and took the 7 o clock train Our Company was glad to see us that is all that we had seen the Most of the men are out on Picket there is a rumor that there is some yankies Up Beyond Salem I Cannot hear which way they are going there is a good many soldiers here Some Say ten thousand I have not Looked about me any and Cannot tell, I do not know what kind of Duty we will be put at some of Our men have gon to Greensborough with prisoners the rest are all about two miles at a Bridge Doing Picket Duty, I am well and am Baking a Big Cake of Corn Bread while I am writing I am Baking it pretty well, the home guard are all here I spoke to Wm Bell and Jo Wilson Joh Jettan is here, there was one por fellow Jumped of the Cars this morning at I think Greensborough the Cars Crushed his foot into a jelly. tell Jeff to plant Corn as fast as he can and be Carefull and plant it right so that it will Come up, kiss my Baby, D McRaven

March 4th 1865

Amanda I have a Chance of Sending you a few lines by William Beard he has come after Dixon Ewart, I have got Back safe we had s Disagreeable trip it rained all the time we were Out we

were gone ten Dayes I was wet most of the time but I am well and harty I have an old quick tooth that hurts me Badly at times but not long at a time Except that I am as well as ever I was. I was in hopes that I would get home as soon as we got back I see no sign of it yet this place looks lonely since the yankies have gone there is a report that we will be turned over to act as home guard now we have nothing to do here and I Do not Expect to stay here long I Do wish that I could go and Se you and the Children for a while I want to hear from you since I came back and would have been uneasy but I was told that there was no mail come from Charlotte for some Days, William Beard told me that you were all well a Day or too back he had seen Jeff Beard told me that he was at Elem Hendersons to Buy a Sheep I [have] nothing to write of news kind I was in the garrison among the old Yankey tents a while ago and found it a stinking place and old shoes and rags Enough to Breed a pestilence, I still hope to get to see you before Long, Amanda keep good hart and nurs my Baby and be cheerful tell Jo howdy he is a good Boy tell sis and Molly I will come and see them as soon as I can kis the Children all for me and tell the negroes howdy

your husband D. McRaven

March 5th 1865
Sunday evening

My Dear husband I received a letter from you friday night that was wrote last Sunday I was so glad to hear from you the letter Elbert wrote was a week on the way before I got it I never put over a more uneasy a time in my life than I have done for the last two weeks I could not find out where you were gone and I was looking for the Yankees along to take every thing we had and burn our home up I have not been well for five or six weeks I have had a spell with my head every week for that time the rest of the family is all well to day our little baby is as pretty as it can be and knows its name when ever any call it the rest of the children look well and are getting pretty sapped I have nothing new to write to you only what you hear every day war news I suppose you heard Daniel McAuley is dead you Scarsly see any one about here in any trouble about the Yankees coming a long and destroying every thing when I see the right sort of folks I see them in trouble Old Mr Farr call to see me yesterday he ask very particular for you he thinks the worst is over about here but I dont think so McRaven I was sorry about you going away and not haveing any money I had wrote a letter and put some money in it and was starting Liz to the office when Elem came and told me you said for me not to write untill I heard from you if you get this letter write soon and I will send you some I cant spend my money at home for any thing I bought a sheep and lamb from Elem Henderson I gave him two bushels of corn and twenty dollars in money for it he ask me three bushels of corn

Isabella is staying with me yet your sister Eveline was up here last night all night Camilla sent her respects to you and thanks you for remembering them and tell you they are all well she is very uneasy about William she has not heard from him since he left McRaven I do want to see you so bad I have looked for you so often and been disappointed I have moste got out of heart I think you must let them impose up on you do your part and the rest to you must let me know if you want [or] need some socks soon or what sort of clothing you will want first so I can have it ready I have not had any heart to work for last two or three weeks we have planted our Irish potatoes eight or ten dayes ago it is so wet Jeff cant get any plowing done he has been cuting fire wood when its not raining and Alsy is spinning McRaven my head has commenced acheing so I cant write you much of a letter this evening I fear I will have a bad time of it to night vomiting and when I commence vomiting my heart commences jumping it makes me feal very bad Gilly and Alsy and Jeff Wash all send howdy to you write soon and come home soon as you can for I would rather see you than any thing in this wourld I hope I will be well the next letter I write to you if I known you would get this letter I would put some money in it for you your wife

A. McRaven

March 15th 1865

Amanda I Landed Safe in Charlotte yesterday about 12 o clock I expect we will stay here a while as there was some of our men put on guard last night it has rained a good deal as usuall when we Start out I have nothing to write only I thought you would wish to hear from me soon I Expect to go on Duty in a few minutes and Can only add that I made a little to free with Squirrel and turkey yesterday and in Consequince I have the Dirahea Slightly– Kiss my Children and let me hear from you soon Direct to Charlotte in place of Salisbury

Your husband D McRaven

Salisbury March 25th 1865

[Only part of this letter is legible]

Amanda I have waited untill this time Expecting to know when we will be sent but I did not find out we are not to go to Statesville we [are] here [for a while] Doing a little light Duty guarding Stragglers prisoners and waiting for our Regiment to collect there—are Se[veral of our] Company [here yet] I am well and harty I [hope] to Leav af[ter a while] L [ooks like you] are Appearing to be Down Spirited– [keep] good spirit Amanda Dispendency will do you [much] harm and can [accomplish nothing but add] to the Evill that is [upon us,] Listen to the Children in their fun and play their cares are Momentary and soon over do like them as Mutch as possible and hope for a better

time to come, I got a good wetting yesterday I had a wood waggan in charge and had haul across a large Creek one old mule fell down and began to Drown my self and Hugh Blakely got of the waggan in the Creek and held his head out of the watter untill the negro Driver got round we then [line illegible] him to the Bank he could not then get up but lay half and hour then got up and ran of from us mule like, Blakely and myself are Both well this morning Once more be Cheerful my wife

D McRaven

April 6th 1865
Thursday evening

My Dear husband I was so sorry when I read your letter last night and found you were back in Salisbury again I am afraid I will not see you soon I wish you had taken a better pare of pants with you I fear you will need them before you can get them we are all tolerable well the babe has not been well for two dayes she appears to be better to day I think it was cold she had high fever Tuesday night and last night I was up to see old Miss Ester Monday evening she said she did not know that she was any better she could set up in the bed Jeff told me to tell you he was done planting at home all but the cotton Isabella and myself and Gilly have been in the field all week I gave out Tuesday evening and was sick we planted our molasses cane yesterday after dinner Isabella and Gilly dropped all the corn and I lost the house key in the field yesterday morning I thought I was fixed then but I found it after takeing a good rake Jeff commenced plowing the other side of Johns this morning Robert Beard found our black cows calf this morning it was living it is moste starved I sent Gilly and Jo and hugh after it they carried it home the cow owned it I poured some milk in it I think it can suck to night Isabella is gone to Brevard Davidson she went of walking this morning she will be back to morrow evening John Johnson two girls were down at John Beards yesterday all day they called here a while in the evening as they were going home they are well his son got potatoes here monday I heard yesterday the Yankees had Richmond and Petersburg both I dont know whether it is so or not I am uneasy to hear the right way John folks got a letter from William yesterday he was well and standing in line of battle when he wrote the 30 of March Gilly told me to tell you howdy and she droped peas yesterday sis send howdy to you write soon I cant hear to often your wife

N.A. McRaven

Sunday Aprile 9th 1865

Amanda I Read your leter yesterday I am glad to hear that you are getting along so well I hope that our pretty little Baby will not be mutch sick I am in good health and am not here

pushed the weather is good and if it was not for being away from my wife and Children I could do the Yankies have possession of Richmond & Petersburg Our men Evacuated the place I Believe But the yankies faught them as they come away, There is a report that there has been a fight Between Lee and Grant Last week & that Lee Drove them Back, we hear all kinds of rumors here but Cannot Vouch for the tenth of any thing I have not any thing particular to write I saw Sherrill since I come Back he Says that Jo Nantz was here at Salisbury while I was at home he is well and Looks well he come here with a small train of waggans and Did not Stay long Sherrill gave Jo 50 dollars in mony, Jo wanted to get past home very Bad But Could not I Only saw Sherrill a few minutes as I was on my way out to Picket and intended to see Sherrill again But I have not met him since Tell Jo he is a good Boy and that he must help Mother all that he can tell sis she is my Pet and mus not [hurt] the Baby when she kissess it tell Molly howdy and kiss her for me tell all the negroes howdy and I like to hear they are getting on so well[76]. . . .

D McRaven

[76] This was the day on which General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia. The only time that the troops under Colonel Hoke may have faced the enemy ". . . was when Stoneman made his raid to Salisbury to release the prisoners at that point." Clark, *North Carolina Regiments*, IV, 67. This raid was made April 12, 1865, and, in the words of General Stoneman, when the Confederate lines had been taken, which included 14 pieces of artillery and 1,364 prisoners captured, ". . . the remainder of the force was chased through and several miles beyond town, but scattered and escaped into woods." *Official Records*, ser. 1, XLIX, part 1, 324. Perhaps McRaven was among those who escaped or he could have been among the few men of the regiment who were paroled when General Johnston surrendered on April 26, 1865, to General Sherman near the present city of Durham, North Carolina.

General Stoneman stated that "We remained at Salisbury two days, during which time we destroyed fifteen miles of railroad track and the bridges toward Charlotte . . . Four large cotton factories and 7,000 bales of cotton, four large magazines containing 10,000 stand of small arms and accouterments, 1,000,000 rounds small arm ammunition, 10,000 rounds fixed artillery ammunition, and 70,000 pounds of powder, 35,000 bushels of corn, 50,000 bushels of wheat, 160,000 pounds of bacon, 100,000 suits gray uniform clothing, 250,000 army blankets, 20,000 pounds harness leather, 10,000 pounds of saltpeter, also a very large amount of sugar, salt, rice, and other stores and medical supplies valued by the rebel medical director at $100,000 in gold; in addition to the arsenal at Salisbury, the military prison was being fitted up and was filled with machinery sent from Raleigh and Richmond, all of which was destroyed." *Official Records*, ser. 1, XLIX, part 1, 324.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Plea for Federal Union, North Carolina, 1788. Introduction by Hugh T. Lefler. (Charlottesville: Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia. 1948. Pp. 79.)

The extreme individualism which was the chief feature of North Carolina during and following the Revolution was best exemplified by the intense feeling and interest caused by the contest over ratification of the federal Constitution. *A Plea for Federal Union, North Carolina, 1788,* is a reprint of two partisan federalist pamphlets which were written in August, 1788. Professor Hugh T. Lefler traces the various stages of the contest for ratification in his introduction.

The first pamphlet is a well written essay entitled *To the People of the State of North Carolina* and signed by "A Citizen of North Carolina." The author recalls the defects of the old Articles of Confederation, protests the action of the Hillsboro convention in rejecting the Constitution, reminds the citizens of his state that they are "now not only independent of all other nations of the world, but entirely independent of the other states," points to the dangers of disunion, and enumerates the advantages of the amendment process of the new form of government. The style and the nature of the argument point to James Iredell, ablest and most active of the federalists, as the author.

The second reprint, actually a collection of seven essays, is a scathing attack on anti-federalism entitled *To the People of the District of Edenton* and signed "A Citizen and A Soldier." The author, who describes himself as a "man of obscurity" and of "inelegant language," remains unknown. This pamphlet is little more than a direct and personal attack on anti-federalists in general and Thomas Person, James Tate, and Willie Jones in particular. The author devotes the most space to Jones, whom he describes as "base, infamous, and unprincipled"—"the second Judas."

This booklet is one of a series of publications designed to make better known to students of history the source materials found in the Tracy W. McGregor Library and has a great value as such.

Students and instructors of history should welcome and encourage such publications.

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History of Missionary Methodism, 1913-1948. By Rev. Dan S. Hardin, Pastor, Forest City Missionary Methodist Church. (Forest City, N. C.; The Forest City Courier, 1948. Pp. 40. Illustrated.)

This book, though of only forty pages, is probably the most complete church history of any church or denomination ever written. This is partly due to the fact that the Missionary Methodist Church was not organized until July 28, 1913. On that day it was formed from members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Forest City, N. C., who had left that church because they no longer accepted the doctrines and regulations of the church that forbade its members to use tobacco, wear jewelry, or join secret societies, prescribed that they should tithe, and ordained women as preachers.

Here the history written by Rev. Dan S. Hardin begins. Even though that history covers only the years since 1913, the author found much difficulty in finding material for its history, especially for the first ten years, but gained much from the *Forest City Courier* whose editor, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, put the files of his paper at his disposal, as did the editor of *The Rutherford County News,* Mr. R. E. Price. Using these and other helps Mr. Hardin has written a full and interesting history of the church, following its remarkable expansion through many villages and towns and telling of its ministers, churches, and quarterly and annual conferences with much clearness. The reader sees a new denomination rise before his eyes, people the cities and towns between Charlotte and Forest City, and build a score of churches in them. The author has no formal statement of their creed, except that in most respects they are like the Wesleyan Methodists. They gain new members, not by accessions from other churches, but by revivals. Going to a new town they make twenty to thirty converts, baptize them in a swimming pool or creek, organize them into a church, put them to work building a meeting house with a number of

Sunday school rooms, and ordain for them a minister. They are enthusiasts. Their first frame building at Forest City "proved insufficient for the shouting, demonstrating audiences, for during one of the services the floor of the building collapsed, which necessitated a removal to other quarters."

But they are a sober people withal. The text and the many illustrations in this book show the kind of people they are: good, honest North Carolina stock, independent, self-respecting, well dressed, and neat; one illustration shows a mixed quartet standing around a grand piano. And they are young with strong, happy faces—not the sour-faced, decrepit saints so often pictured in church histories. In short, they are those vigorous native North Carolinians, with North Carolina names, who have made the region they inhabit a great industrial center. Their churches help them to live moral lives and are old-fashioned enough to have a regulation against divorce. Writing the preface, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, a member of the Executive Board of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History says: "Hundreds of members of this sect have made religion a real, vitalizing factor in their daily lives and in their communities."

George W. Paschal.

Wake Forest, N. C.

Rountree Chronicles, 1827-1840. Documentary Primer of a Tar Heel Faith. By Charles Crossfield Ware. (Wilson, N. C.: The North Carolina Christian Missionary Convention, 1947. Pp. 64. Illustrations. Plates.)

This little book is by the author of *A History of Disciples of Christ in North Carolina,* and of *Barton Warren Stone, Pathfinder of Christian Union,* and has the qualities of those publications—the same clear, unpretentious style, accuracy of statement, and good classification of matter, all topically arranged in chapters and divsions. The main purpose of the author is to tell the story of Rountree Church situated four miles west of the present town of Ayden, and to establish the fact that it is "definitely the mother church of North Carolina Disciples of Christ." With this design he prints (pages 18-44) the records of the church for the years 1827-1840, which came into his hands on February 2, 1947. These show Rountree was founded as a Baptist church in 1827, was for some years a member of the Neuse Baptist Association,

by degrees was transformed into a church of "Reformers," (Disciples), in 1832, and has continued as such to this day, that is, this church was "the first in North Carolina to start and maintain without break the primal evolutionary trend to the Disciples." To make valid this point, the author prints some "other key documents." He also has a "Foreword," a "Chronology of the Rountree Church," a list of its pastors, and a chapter of seven pages, in which are given genealogical data for the Founder's Four Generations, the founder being Jesse Rountree (1765-1831).

George W. Paschal.

Wake Forest, N. C.

The American Iliad. The Epic Story of the Civil War as Narrated by Eyewitnesses and Contemporaries. By Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1947. Pp. 720. $5.00.)

For four years during the American Civil War the sword was in constant and feverish activity, piling up battle after battle for history to record. For those four years and for many times four years thereafter the pen rivaled the sword in activity, equally as constant and perhaps more feverish, piling up account after account of battles for historians to evaluate. That generals used their pens to explain the failures of their swords is well known. Not as well known is the fact that other participants and contemporaries confided to their personal records their experiences in or their observations upon the great conflict. From this mass of accounts written by observers and participants the authors of *The American Iliad* have selected what they consider to be interesting and significant passages and have woven them together into narrative form by means of a running commentary. They have chosen not only from the better known productions of important figures but also from those of the obscure and the unknown. The selections are excellently made and even the special student of the war will find material of significance with which he is not apt to be familiar and which will add to his understanding of the conflict. Every phase of the war is included, and from both sides. Strategy and tactics are not avoided, for many of the accounts bring out the reasons why armies moved where they did and why they attacked or defended on a particular battlefield.

Human interest and local color, which add validity to any research, abound. The importance of material forces in war are amply illustrated, but the equal importance of the spiritual and moral forces at the front and at home are in no wise neglected. Contemporaries have written this book and the authors have merely done a good job of selecting and putting together.

But this is a good book which should have been a better one. In the foreword the authors explain that "now and then . . . we have found it desirable to make slight changes" in the selections quoted. "A general may have been a fine strategist but a clumsy writer, a correspondent a good reporter but one who cluttered his sentences with commas and semicolons." Moreover, they admit that they have condensed some of the material while other portions are quoted verbatim. Extra sentences have been added in order to supply continuity and avoid lengthy explanations. When original wordings have seemed obscure they have clarified them. They have tried to make grammar, punctuation, and spelling conform to a pattern throughout, but they acknowledge that sometimes this has not been done. The confusing and provoking thing about these practices is that the authors have devised no way by which the reader is made aware when there has been a change in the material. There are no footnotes to indicate alerations, no quotation marks, no brackets, no changes in type, no device to show whether or not the source is quoted verbatim or whether it has been changed. At times it is extremely difficult, and at other times virtually impossible, to tell when the authors are speaking in their running commentary and when the contemporaries are speaking for themselves. For the critical student these unfortunate obscurations minimize, if they do not entirely destroy, the usefulness that the book would otherwise have for him.

Nevertheless the authors deserve praise for their laborious work of wading through the tremendous quantities of materials on the Civil War and selecting accounts that, compiled in one volume, furnish easy access to sources of history which were formerly difficult to secure. The arrangement of the records, the simplicity of their presentation, the impartiality of their choices, the unusually clear maps and the adequate, though not exhaustive, bibliography all enhance the value of this introduction to secondary materials for the war years. The authors have done a

useful job which required great patience, industry, and judgment, and to their labors we are indebted for an unusual presentation of history.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By John Hope Franklin. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1947. Pp. xv, 622. Illustrated. Trade edition, $5.00; textbook edition, $3.75.)

North Carolina can lay claim to this history of the American Negro. Its author was for years a teacher at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh and at North Carolina College in Durham. He served his apprenticeship in history by writing *The Free Negro in North Carolina,* which was published at Chapel Hill in 1943. The book under review was largely written before Dr. Franklin left North Carolina to become a professor at Howard University in Washington.

From Slavery to Freedom is obviously written by a Negro for the use of Negroes. It does not conform to the cold standards of objectivity successfully set forth in Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma.* Dr. Franklin does not include in his narrative some of the harsher realities of the Negro's past which the objective white historian might include. This is pointedly illustrated by the criticism of the military historian, Bell I. Wiley, of what the Negro scholar says about the black man's conduct in the Second World War. Dr. Franklin's interpretation is as the self-respecting Negro would have it. He gives the narrative a restrained bias satisfying to the intelligent Negro in much the same way that the intelligent white patriot is satisfied by a scholarly but sympathetic textbook history of the United States. I dare say that the Franklin book will not be popular enough to serve the varied uses of the Negro demogogues, but it will attract the more intelligent blacks as well as those among the whites who want an honest evaluation of the facts about the Negro. It avoids the lyrical extravagances of W.E.B. DuBois's books and the boastful vindictiveness of Carter G. Woodson's histories. This explains perhaps the ill-considered attack upon it in a recent issue of *The Journal of Negro History.* This leads to the prediction that the book will long

command attention as the standard one-volume work on Negro history.

The greatest virtue of the book is its completeness, its covering of the whole field of Negro endeavor from ancient origins to the time of Harry Truman, with almost nothing on the subject left out of the index about which one may be curious. Perhaps, as the reviewer in *The Journal of Negro History* suggests, the chapters on Africa and Latin America might have been omitted because of their supposed irrelevancy to American problems. But the student of the American race question feels the need of evaluations based on comparisons. What Dr. Franklin says about Africa and Latin America makes the best possible source for a comparative treatment of the American black.

Dr. Franklin is weakest when he does what the historians of American racial minorities usually do: overemphasize the parts of their respective groups in the great events of American history. Dr. Franklin has much to say about the part of black heroes in the great American explorations and wars. His catalogue of names is interesting but not of great significance. Unfortunately color prejudices have denied the Negro an important part in the direction of historic events. Dr. Franklin is best when he describes those racial developments in which the Negro has been allowed full expression. His chapters on the slaves, the free persons of color, black Reconstruction, the great migration to the North, and the social and cultural strivings of the New Negro are both intimate and objective. They tell what the Negro has done on his own level of existence rather than the disagreeable story of his attempt to help the white man perform tasks in which the Negro's aid has generally not been appreciated.

Francis B. Simkins.

State Teachers College,
Farmville, Virginia.

Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776. By Abbot Emerson Smith. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. viii, 435. $5.00.)

This attractive volume gives renewed attention to a fact too often neglected: the important part played by bond servitude in the settlement and development of America. Excluding the Puri-

tan migration of the 1630's, writes Dr. Smith, "not less than one-half, nor more than two-thirds, of all white immigrants to the colonies were indentured servants or redemptioners or convicts." By their labor, the wilderness was subdued, the soil was cultivated, and often too tasks were performed which required skilled hands. They were the ancestors of more present-day Americans than any other group of the white colonial population.

But, though the importance of the subject is obvious, this is the first reasonably complete account, earlier ones having for the most part confined their attention to a single colony or to a single type of servant. This book is distinguished too for its use of a wide variety of source material both from English and American repositories.

The transportation of servants to the colonies was chiefly a private enterprise of the most ruthless sort. The profits were large due to the great need for labor, and the transportation costs were relatively low. Though there were occasional efforts to obtain governmental interference to combat the greed which characterized the entrepreneurs, they were seldom successful and the few cases in which the government itself acted as an agent show the reluctance with which it intervened.

The indentured servants were characteristic of the seventeenth century, the redemptioners of the eighteenth. The latter were generally of higher character; they came in family groups and usually had some means though not sufficient to pay the entire cost of their passage. They were chiefly German or Swiss, although many Irish and English were transported under redemptionist agreements. Convicts came in considerable numbers in both centuries, particularly to Maryland and Virginia. During some periods, half the bond servants transported were convicts.

The value of these servants, whatever the handicaps of this method of colonizing, was certainly great. It is harder to evaluate their social effect. Most writers, relying almost exclusively upon court records, have tended to characterize them almost entirely as rogues and scoundrels. Dr. Smith seems to agree with them, even though with commendable restraint he has refused to let those who appear in the official records as trouble makers dominate his account. Contemporary witnesses are almost unanimous that the system tended to make the colonies sinks of European re-

fuse. Fortunately, Dr. Smith says, pioneer conditions speedily winnowed "the vast influx of riffraff which descended upon the settlements; the residue, such as it was, became the American people."

The valuable appendix in which the author attempts to give a statistical estimate of the number and distribution of indentured servants illustrates the difficulties of his task in general. Figures from the port of London seem to be fairly complete for some years, but for the most part they are decidedly scanty and can hardly be regarded as more than estimates. After examining these figures, one is not surprised that the author is reluctant to carry his generalizations far.

All in all, in its significance, its readability, and in its typography, this volume sets a high standard for later publications of the Institute at Williamsburg.

Robert E. Moody.

Boston University,
Boston, Mass.

General Gage in America. By John Richard Alden. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xi, 313. Illustrations. $4.00.)

In spite of the fact that he has scorned the "fetish of documentation" and has prepared no formal bibliography, Professor Alden has produced a worthwhile study of General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of the British Army in North America and governor of Massachusetts. Gage, generally heretofore pictured in an unfavorable light, is presented anew as an honorable and competent soldier and civil servant. Basing his biography, for the most part, on the General Thomas Gage manuscripts in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan, Mr. Alden reveals that Gage was relieved of his American command in 1775, not because of incompetence, but rather because of Anglo-Scottish quarreling and because of his insistence before and after the shooting began that America could not be conquered without a British effort involving thousands of men and several years.

General Gage in America is a "life and times" biography with the accent so often placed on the "times" that one must continually remind himself that this is a biography of Gage and not a

history of the coming of the Revolution. In a brief bibliographical note the author credits "much material" to "authoritative writings by Claude H. Van Tyne, Herbert Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Allen French, and many other distinguished scholars too numerous to name," yet through the text these authorities are not cited for facts or interpretations, though often easily recognized. Much as a frugal Revolutionary housewife might have reknit a worn sock, adding a few new strands of wool to strengthen weak threads, so has Mr. Alden retold an old story with new facts.

The author's style, though occasionally trite (as, for example, the use of "pretty"—"taxes were pretty high," and "British leaders were pretty well agreed," on page 106 and again on pages 126, 128, and 130) is generally quite varied. His choice of words is commendable. As a whole the chapters are uneven in their appeal. The chapter entitled "The Boston Massacre and After" stands out as particularly well written.

Physically the book is well made and adequately illustrated but the index, while extensive, cannot be relied upon to give absolutely every reference to a subject contained in the book.

William S. Powell.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Unhurried Years; Memories of the Old Natchez Region. By Pierce Butler. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xvi, 198. Illustrations. $3.00.)

To his many other varied writings, dean emeritus Butler of Newcomb College has added a rather intriguing account of the plantation with which his family has been continuously associated since shortly before the American Revolution. The place, known as Laurel Hill, is located near Natchez, Mississippi.

The account is neither a memoir, an autobiography, nor a specialized historical study; perhaps its subject matter should be described as all three of these forms of writing pressed somewhat indiscriminately between two covers. Portions of the book are based on a study of family papers; other sections are reminiscences. It possesses little continuity and no connecting theme except, as intended, the influence of Laurel Hill upon its occupants.

Family members enter, leave, and return in amazing and sometimes confusing and baffling procession, some briefly, others extensively. Dean Butler's personal approach to his subject begins with the period since the Civil War. Miscellany and digressions mark the story throughout. Still, the book is an entrancing one, and the reader who is interested in the subject of everyday plantation life in the Deep South, old and new, will profit from this "non-scientific" volume.

As might be expected, to the author the project of preparing an account of his home and family has been a labor of love, and that is as it should be. His style is excellent, since he is an English scholar who has written extensively on Shakespeare and in the fields of medieval history, Southern literature, and the Civil War. Here, however, he has not prepared a study with footnotes, bibliography, index, and the usual fixings of the special historical work. Several charming and interesting illustrations are included. His book is, in part, of the popular type and is another expression of the nostalgia so well traced by Francis Pendleton Gaines in *The Southern Plantation, A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York, 1924). If this significant fact is remembered, one may relax with Dean Pierce's book in anticipation of enjoyment and some instruction.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Ala.

The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake. London, 1765. Reprint by Samuel Cole Williams. (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Company—The Watauga Press. 1948. Pp. 175. $5.00.)

First-hand information about the Cherokee Indians is found in the "Memoirs" of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, a Virginia officer who served in the French and Indian War. He volunteered to visit the Cherokee and from his observations he furnished ample description of the Indians and their villages along the Little Tennessee River. In order to promote friendly relations between the Indians and the Englishmen, he accompanied a delegation of Cherokee to England, one of whom was the prominent chief Ostenaco. Experiences of the delegation are described in detail.

Later another party of Indians was escorted to England by Timberlake.

A close observer and able narrator, Timberlake ranks high among authorities on Cherokee history and ethnology. He died in England in 1765, probably before his book was off the press.

The small volume of "Memoirs" was not reprinted until Judge Samuel Cole Williams, formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, prepared an edition. In this valuable reprint Judge Williams has preserved the original and has added thorough annotation. There are three plates: a portrait of Ostenaco drawn by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Timberlake's excellent map of the Little Tennessee settlements, and "A Curious secret Journal taken by the *Indinas* out of the Pocket of a *French Officer* they had kill'd."

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

An Anthropological Bibliography of the Eastern Seaboard. Research publication No. 1, Eastern States Archeological Federation. Edited by Irving Rouse and John M. Goggin. (New Haven, Conn.: Published by the Federation at the Yale Peabody Museum. 1948. Pp. 174.)

The objectives of the Eastern States Archeological Federation, as stated in its constitution, are "to promote scientific investigation of archeological remains in the eastern United States and to establish a plan for inter-state cooperation in the field of archeological research."

In 1937 the president of the society for the year, Dr. Cornelius Osgood of Yale University, planned a bibliography project for the federation and served as first director. After 1938 the bibliography has been developed by Dr. Irving Rouse of Yale, assisted in final preparation by John M. Goggin.

The introduction states that this is a gross bibliography. It includes therefore items that may have little significance, but the wide range includes publications of weight and lesser material that might prove its worth in the long run.

The states of the federation include all the area draining into the Atlantic. Material is listed according to the divisions: General, Eastern Canada, New England, Middle Atlantic States, Southeast.

The three departments represented separately are archeology, ethnology, and history.

There are items, of course, that failed to make the first volume of eastern bibliography, but later supplements can be provided. As it stands, the bibliography is a standard for reference not to be overlooked in research.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Western Country in 1793. Reports on Kentucky and Virginia. By Harry Toulmin, edited by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies. (San Marino, California. Pp. xx, 141. $3.75.)

Miss Tinling and Mr. Davies have written an excellent prefatory essay to this volume. They have combined biographical data with historical criticism to raise some interesting questions. Harry Toulmin's connection with *A Description of Kentucky in North America: to which are prefixed miscellaneous observations* and *Thoughts on Emigration* present a genuine puzzle. In 1945 the University of Kentucky Press reprinted *A Description of Kentucky* in its Reprint Series. No effort was made to determine the detailed facts about the background manuscript story of the book. At that time there was an argument over the pamphlets on emigration found in the Wilson copy which is now in the University of Kentucky Library.

The editors of this new volume have discovered Toulmin's "real description of Kentucky" and published it in the volume under review. This material is printed from a collection of "Toulmin manuscripts" made by some unknown person contemporary with the author. There are eleven parts of the present book which are made up of Toulmin letters. Five of these relate to Virginia and Maryland five to Kentucky. Toulmin's observations have a freshness and authenticity about them which make his writings both interesting and extremely useful. Perhaps three aspects of his observations stand out: the contrast between the Eastern Seaboard and Kentucky; the scale of prices and the economic situation in Kentucky; and the problems which the emigrant to the West could expect to face.

Toulmin's descriptions do not contain as much personal matter as do many of the eighteenth-century travel accounts, but the impersonal observations are of invaluable assistance. The publishers have done an excellent job with the format of this book, and the editors have included a highly useful index. This will become a much-used source not only by Virginia, Kentucky, and the frontier historians, but likewise by students of eighteenth century prices.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, for the Year Ending June 30, 1947. The National Archives, Publication No. 48-6. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. vi, 92.)

If you saw the Freedom Train when it was on exhibit in the city nearest you, it is likely that you will want to read the national Archivist's brief statement about it. Readers of his thirteenth annual report will find an expression of hesitancy at the thought that "some of the most priceless documents in the custody of the Archivist" should be thus "taken to the people" throughout the nation. But the Archivist resolved his doubts in the affirmative. "These documents and the rights and privileges they embody belong to the American people, who won them and who keep on fighting for them. It seems only just, therefore, that the documents should not be kept immured but should be permitted to play their part in the American Heritage Foundation's program of rededication to the American ideals they symbolize." Thus it was that treasured manuscripts from other depositories and from the National Archives were assembled there last summer and prepared for exhibition. It was, as the Archivist triumphantly proclaims, "a unique opportunity to serve the people of the United States."

The forty-three pages of the body of this annual report contain other notes of triumph. The Archivist rejoices that almost twice as many records were received during the year under review as in the previous year. More specifically, for example, he explains the acquisition of unprecedented quantities of maps and motion

pictures. He reports with pride that the federal government's records of the Second World War "are now substantially under administrative control," though he does not yet claim that the million cubic feet of these records which are being selected for preservation from the total volume twelve times as large are now under "intellectual control, in the sense that the data they contain are known and usable." Nevertheless, despite the year's voluminous accessions, he asserts proudly that a staff still below its pre-war size managed to reduce appreciably the backlog of materials received but not yet analyzed and described for maximum accessibility.

On the other hand, he records with lament the discontinuance within its first year—because "the purpose of the project was misunderstood" and requested appropriations were not obtained—of a comprehensive four-year "program to describe in a series of guides the records of the Government's experience in World War II" which was "essential if the Nation is to benefit from that experience."

In the opinion of the uninitiated the National Archives, like every governmental agency, should be able to justify its existence. Such folk will find in this annual report rather ample and sometimes amusing summaries of the extremely varied questions which this institution and its inestimably valuable research resources were able to answer. Indeed, the staff performed more than a thousand reference services per working day throughout the year for almost every imaginable type of investigator, among them being historians of American literature, historical novelists, prosecutors of war criminals, and a man born at sea who had been trying in vain for years to prove his birth and hence his citizenship. Readers who approach this volume with more specific objectives will probably also appreciate its index and its appendices. The latter include formal lists of the year's accessions and of the number and title of every "record group" preserved in this official depository.

W. Edwin Hemphill.

World War II History Division,
Virginia State Library,
Charlottesville, Virginia

HISTORICAL NEWS

Back numbers of *The North Carolina Historical Review* may be procured from the State Department of Archives and History at 50 cents per copy or $2 per volume, by writing D. L. Corbitt, Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C. There is still a limited number of complete files of this publication available.

On October 7 the Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a monument at Thyatira Church, Rowan County, honoring Elizabeth Maxwell Steele. Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina presided at the exercises and Mr. William D. Kizziah of Salisbury made the principal address. Mrs. J. R. Norwood and Mr. Edwin C. Gregory of Salisbury made brief talks. Rev. James R. Phillips, pastor of Thyatira Church, pronounced the invocation and Rev. Samuel Edwards gave the benediction.

Mr. Edward F. Burrows of Oswego, S. C., who has been doing graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, has joined the faculty of Guilford College as assistant professor of history.

On November 15 a portrait of George Ross Pou, state auditor of North Carolina 1937-1947, was unveiled in the Auditor's Office in the Capitol. The Rev. James McDowell Dick, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, pronounced the invocation and R. Gregg Cherry presented the portrait. The portrait was unveiled by Bryan Carr, Jr., Watts Carr, III, and Mary Spotswood Pou, grandchildren of George Ross Pou. The portrait was accepted on behalf of the people of the state by Mr. Henry L. Bridges, auditor of the state of North Carolina.

On December 9 a portrait of Dr. Paul P. McCain was unveiled in the lobby of the North Carolina Tuberculosis Sanatorium at McCain, N. C. The portrait was presented by the North Carolina Medical Society in recognition of Dr. McCain's service in the field of tuberculosis treatment in the state and was unveiled by Miss Sarah Johnson McCollum, two-year-old granddaughter of

Dr. McCain. Justice Wiley Rutledge of the United States Supreme Court delivered the dedicatory address. Dr. Paul Ringer of Asheville, a member of the board of directors of the institution, accepted the portrait on behalf of the Sanitorium. Dr. Paul F. Whitaker of Kinston, chairman of the McCain Memorial Committee, presided at the ceremonies.

On December 8 a highway marker was unveiled on East Main Street in front of the Cherry Funeral Home in Washington, N. C., honoring Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, 1913-1921, Ambassador to Mexico, 1931-1942, editor of *The News and Observer,* and author of several books. Mr. Jonathan Daniels, editor of *The News and Observer,* delivered the principal address. Mrs. E. B. Kugler, regent of the Major Reading Blount Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, led the services and Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution accepted the marker. Congressman Herbert C. Bonner introduced the speaker.

On October 31 Fall Creek Baptist Church of Wayne County observed its 100th anniversary. Rev. H. C. Moore of Ridgecrest delivered the anniversary sermon.

Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History and state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, on December 3 spoke to the Caswell Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Raleigh on the accomplishments of that organization.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its forty-eighth annual session in Raleigh on December 3. The morning session consisted of the following papers: "Development of Interest in the Common Schools of North Carolina, 1868-1890," by Dr. George W. Paschal of Wake Forest; "Southern Authors Reveal A Changing South," by Mr. George M. Stephens of Asheville; and "Review of North Carolina Books and Authors of the Year," by Miss Mary C. Wiley of Winston-Salem. At the business meeting Mr. W. T. Bost of Raleigh was elected president; Dr. D.

J. Whitener of Boone, Dr. Paul Murray of Greenville, and Mr. Kemp P. Battle of Rocky Mount were elected vice-presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Miss Mary Lynch Johnson and Judge J. Crawford Biggs were elected members of the executive committee. At the evening session Dr. Alice M. Baldwin of Durham delivered the presidential address; Rev. Douglas L. Rights, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, presented the Mayflower award; and Mr. John W. Vandercook of New York delivered a talk entitled, "Is the Marshall Plan Working?"

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University was awarded the Mayflower Society award at the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association for the best book published by a resident North Carolinian during the year. Dr. Sydnor's book entitled *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.*

The North Carolina State Art Society held its twenty-second annual meeting on December 1 in Raleigh. Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, president of the Society, brought presidential greetings. Mr. William F. Davidson, vice-president of the Knoedler Galleries of New York, gave a discussion on the paintings on exhibition entitled "Daingerfield and his Contemporaries," and Miss Marjorie Daingerfield of New York gave a demonstration of portrait sculpture. The general business meeting was held December 2 at which time Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington was re-elected president. Mrs. James E. Latham of Greensboro, Mr. John Allcott of Chapel Hill, and Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson of Raleigh were elected vice-presidents. Mrs. James H. Cordon was re-elected treasurer and Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp of Raleigh was re-elected executive secretary. Dr. Clarence Poe, Mr. William Henley Deitrick, Mr. Edwin Gill, Mrs. Katharine Morris, all of Raleigh, and Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville were elected members of the executive committee. Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greenville, Mrs. Charles Tucker of Warrenton, Mrs. William Dunn of New Bern, Mr. William T. Joyner of Raleigh, Mrs. E. O. Efird of Winston-Salem, Mr. William Meade Price of Chapel

Hill, Mrs. Peter McK. Williams of Fayetteville, Mrs. Frank Dunlap of Wadesboro, Mrs. Percy Grimes of Salisbury, Mrs. Harold Dwelle of Charlotte, Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, and Mr. Anthony Lord of Asheville were elected congressional district vice-presidents. Mrs. Henry M. London of Linden, Mr. William Henley Dietrick, Dr. Clarence Poe, Mr. Edwin Gill, Miss Katharine Morris, and Mrs. Alexander Crane, all of Raleigh; Mr. John Rembert of Chapel Hill, and Mrs. Earle Mueller of Durham were elected members of the board of trustees.

Awards of $200 each were presented to the following persons: Mrs. Primrose McPherson Robertson of Raleigh for her picture in oil entitled "Beulah's Baby," Miss Harriet Bogart of Charlotte for her painting in oil entitled "Little Girl with Chicken," and Mr. John Rembert of Chapel for his picture in watercolor entitled "By the Winds Grieved."

The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society held its thirty-seventh annual session in Raleigh on December 3. At this session Dr. George P. Wilson of Greensboro read a paper entitled "Folk Speech in North Carolina" and Dr. Richard Jente of Chapel Hill read a paper entitled "North Carolina Proverbs." Mr. Bascom Lamar Lunsford of Asheville presented a folklore feature consisting of mountain ballards played on the fiddle by Mr. Marcus Martin. At the business session the following officers were elected: Dr. Newman I. White of Durham, president; Dr. Richard Jente of Chapel Hill, Mr. Cratis D. Williams of Boone, and Mr. B. E. Washburn of Rutherfordton, vice-presidents; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

The Society of Mayflower descendents in the State of North Carolina held its annual dinner meeting in Raleigh on December 2. At the business meeting Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Byerly of Winston-Salem was elected governor. Also the following officers were re-elected: Mr. Richard S. Tufts of Pinehurst, deputy-governor; Judge Samuel J. Ervin of Morganton, counsellor; Miss May W. Pruett of Greenville, S. C., secretary-treasurer; Mr. Burnham S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest, historian; and Mr. James G. K. McClure of Fairview, elder.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its eighth annual session in Raleigh on December 2. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, president of the Society, brought greetings. Mrs. Edwin R. MacKethan of Fayetteville made a talk on the Old Market House, the Elliott Daingerfield Shrine, and other old buildings in Fayetteville, and Mr. John A. Oats of Fayetteville made a talk entitled "Tales and Traditions of the Upper Cape Fear." Mrs. D. S. Currie of Parkton presented descendants of Flora Macdonald and Mrs. C. Bion Sears and Flora Macdonald College girls under the direction of Mr. Robert Reuter, director of music, presented the Highland Fling and Scottish Ballards. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon presented awards to persons who during the year interested themselves in reserving and making known the history of North Carolina and the restoration of historical buildings in the state. Each person was presented with a replica of a silver bowl which was presented to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Cannon and which will be awarded annually. Those who received the awards were Mrs. James E. Latham of Greensboro, Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill, Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill, Rev. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem, Dr. Charles Lee Smith of Raleigh, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh. At the business meeting Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord was re-elected president of the Society; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton was elected vice-president; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh was re-elected secretary-treasurer. The following persons were re-elected district vice-presidents; Mrs. Samuel N. Clark of Tarboro, first congressional district; Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington of Warrenton, second congressional district; Mrs. R. N. Duffy of New Bern, third congressional district; Mrs. Charles Lee Smith of Raleigh, fourth congressional district; Mrs. Gordon Gray of Winston-Salem, fifth congressional district; Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, sixth congressional district; Mrs. Henry A. MacMillan of Wilmington, seventh congressional district; Mrs. George H. Maurice of Eagle Springs, eighth congressional district; Mrs. Henkel Spillman of Statesville, ninth congressional district; Miss Julia J. Robertson of Charlotte, tenth congressional district; Mr. Ralph Erskine of

Tryon, eleventh congressional district; and Mrs. Robert Cecil of Asheville, twelfth congressional district. The following persons were re-elected as members of the board of directors: Mrs. James E. Latham of Greensboro, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, Mrs. R. L. MacMillan of Raleigh, and Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill.

The Woman's Club of Raleigh gave a tea on December 2 honoring the members of the State Literary and Historical Association, the North Carolina Society of County Historians, the North Carolina State Art Society, The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, and The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities.

At the luncheon meeting of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Dr. Ronald F. Lee of Washington, D. C., chief historian of the National Park Service, spoke on the importance of conserving the nation's historical sites and buildings.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians held its annual meeting in Raleigh on December 3. Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington was re-elected president, Mr. Willis G. Briggs of Raleigh was elected vice-president, and Mr. John H. Monger of Sanford was re-elected secretary-treasurer. At the meeting it announced that Rev. E. H. Davis of Louisburg had published *Historical Sketches of Franklin County* and Miss Mattie Bloodworth of Burgaw had published *History of Pender County*. It was also announced that Mr. James G. W. MacClamroch is writing a history of Guilford County, Mr. John A. Oates of Fayetteville is writing a history of Fayetteville and the surrounding area, and Mr. Malcolm Fowler is writing a history of the Upper Cape Fear region.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina on November 13 for its fall meeting. Dr. C. O. Cathy of the University of North Carolina read a paper entitled "The Development of Tools and Instruments in North Carolina Agriculture, 1783-1860," and Dr. Rich-

ard C. Todd of Duke University read a paper entitled "The Produce Loan: A Means of Financing the Confederacy." Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem gave the presidential address entitled "A Century of the Textile Industry in Salem." At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Dr. R. D. W. Connor of the University of North Carolina, president; Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, vice-president; Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina, secretary-treasurer; Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College and Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College, members of the Council.

Dr. Newman I. White, professor of English at Duke University and president of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, died on December 6 in Cambridge, Mass. Dr. White had been a member of the faculty of Duke University for 29 years.

Mr. Lambert Davis, an editor of Harcourt, Brace & Company of New York, has been appointed director of the University of North Carolina Press. Mr. Davis succeeds Dr. T. J. Wilson, III, who resigned to become director of the Harvard University Press.

Mr. A. T. Outlaw of Kenansville has published a broadside entitled "The Historical Background of Duplin County, North Carolina. First Settlers were Scotch-Irish Descent—Formed Churches and Schools in Various Parts of the County." Those interested in procuring a copy of this broadside should write Mr. Outlaw, Kenansville.

Mr. William N. Chambers, St. Louis, Missouri, has published "Young Man From Tennessee: First Years of Thomas Benton in Missouri," in *The Bulletin*, Vol IV, No. 4 (July 1948), published by the Missouri Historical Society.

Dr. James E. King of the University of North Carolina recently published an article entitled "The Orgin of the Term 'Political Economy'" in the *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (September 1948).

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina recently published an article entitled "Medieval History and Historians during World War II," in *Medievalia et Hunamistica,* Vol. V, 24-35 (1948).

Miss Wilhelmina Barnett who has a A.M. degree from Howard University has joined the faculty of the history department of Fayetteville State Teachers College.

Mr. James H. Brewer, a member of the faculty of the history department of Fayetteville State Teachers College, will receive his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Pittsburgh in January.

Dr. Joseph H. Douglas of the Fayetteville State Teachers College published "Certain Implications of the North Carolina Educational Commissions Report as to the Education of Negroes within North Carolina," in *North Carolina Teachers Report,* 1948.

Mr. John W. Parker of the Fayetteville State Teachers College, published "The Emergence of Negro Fiction," *Negro History Bulletin,* (October 1948). He also published "Tomorrow in the Writings of Langston Hughes," in *College English,* 1948.

Mr. Clarence A. Chick, Sr., of Fayetteville State Teachers College, published "A Retrospect of Court Decisions Effecting the Rights of Negroes on Public Convenances," *Journal of Negro Education,* Fall 1948.

The Southern Historical Association held its fourteenth annual meeting November 4, 5, and 6 in Jackson, Mississippi. Papers read by North Carolinians at the sessions were as follows: Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University "The Establishment of Anglo-American Law in the Mississippi Territory"; Mr. William M. Geer of the University of North Carolina "O. Max Gardner as a Textile Leader"; Mr. Robert A. Lively of the University of North Carolina, "The Interpretation of the Southern Spirit in the Civil War Novel"; Mr. Dewey W. Grantham of the Univer-

sity of North Carolina, "Hoke Smith: Progressive Governor of Georgia, 1907-1909"; and Mr. Harry L. Stevens of Duke University, "Perspectives of Mid-Western Frontier Historian on Foreign Problems, 1812-1860." Dr. Edgar W. Knight and Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina discussed the subject, "What Constitutes a Good College History?" Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University presided at the annual dinner of the Association.

Dr. J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina was elected secretary-treasurer of the Southern Historical Association, at the annual meeting held in Jackson, Mississippi, on November 4-6.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists and the eighth annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History were held jointly in Raleigh, on October 27, 28, and 29, with the State Department of Archives and History as host. Duke University coöperated by giving a luncheon and the University of North Carolina cooperated by giving a dinner in honor of these groups. During the meetings Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University read a paper, "What the Historian Expects of an Archival Agency or Historical Society." Mr. Paul Green of the University of North Carolina delivered an address "'The Lost Colony' and 'The Common Glory': Producing Historical Symphonic Dramas"; Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the State Department of Archives and History and president of the Society of American Archivists, delivered the presidential address; Dr. Graham P. Roberts of Duke University made a talk on "The Manuscript and Newspaper Collection in Duke University"; Dr. Benjamin E. Powell of Duke University welcomed the organizations to that Institution; Dr. James W. Patton of the University of North Carolina read a paper "The Southern Historical Collection"; and Dr. Robert B. House of the University of North Carolina welcomed the organizations to that Institution. Dr. Christopher Crittenden presided at one of the meetings, Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History also presided at a meeting, and Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina, pre-

sided at a meeting at Chapel Hill. Mr. D. L. Corbit was chairman of the local arrangements committee.

On September 12 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Iredell County which was conducted by Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History. Some of the places visited on this tour were Torrence's Tavern, Centre Church, Mount Mourne, Mooresville, Troutman, Bell's School, Fourth Creek Burying Ground, the Zeb Vance House, Mitchell College, the Caldwell House, the Simonton Place, Ebenezer Academy, Turnersburg, Carson Home site, Young Cemetery, and Fort Dobbs. During the tour a stop was made at Mitchell College in Statesville where a picnic lunch was served. Approximately fifty persons went on the tour.

On October 24th the North Carolina Society of County Historians toured Fayetteville and parts of Cumberland County. This tour was under the direction of Mr. John A. Oates of Fayetteville. The group visited the Market House in Fayetteville, built in 1780, in which the general assembly passed an act authorizing the establishment of the University of North Carolina and in which the state convention adopted the Federal Constitution; the site of the home of Flora Macdonald, Cool Spring Tavern, and other places. A picnic lunch was served in Eccles Park on the banks of Cross Creek near the site of the home of Warren Winslow. Other places of interest visited on this tour were connected in one way or another with Judah P. Benjamin, a member of the Confederate cabinet; James C. Dobbin, Secretary of the Navy; Dorothea L. Dix, founder of the State Hospital in Raleigh; and Dr. Hugh McAden, who visited the section in 1756.

The National Archives, Washington, D. C., has announced that it is reproducing in facsimile certain historical documents such as the Bill of Rights for sale to schools, libraries, and interested individuals.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has announced the acquisition of the papers of Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet and Ambas-

sador to Mexico under Franklin D. Roosevelt. These papers were presented to the Library of Congress by his four sons, Dr. Worth B. Daniels, Mr. Josephus Daniels, Jr., Mr. Jonathan Daniels, and Mr. Frank A. Daniels. While some of the earlier files of this collection were reported to have been destroyed by fire, some materials prior to 1913 have been preserved. Much of the early material is family correspondence. The main body of the papers begins with Daniel's services as secretary of the Navy, 1912-1921. The files of 1921-1933 and 1942-1948 deal with the period when he was active editor of *The News and Observer*. These papers constitute one of the largest collections of personal papers in the Library and most of the collection is available for use by scholars.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review on October 1 urged graduate research students to compete for the Pelzer prize, a medal provided for by Mrs. Louis Pelzer and awarded to a candidate for an advanced degree in any North American University for the best article on United States history. Articles submitted for the 1949 competition must be in the office of the managing editor of the *Review* not later than January 15; they should not exceed 9,000 words in length, including footnotes. The prize-winning study selected by a committee consisting of the managing editor and four other members appointed by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's executive committee, will be published in the *Review* as the Pelzer prize article for the year. Those students interested in making application should apply to Dr. Wendell H. Stevenson, Managing Editor, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture under the sponsorship of the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia, has announced that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. The grants are made in conjunction with the publication program of the Institute and vary in value according to the needs of the individual during the period of which the grant is made and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed

product of their researches to the Institute for consideration for publication. Ordinarily grants will not exceed $1,000. Requests for application forms and other information should be adressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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ARCHEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE[1]

By J. C. HARRINGTON

Archeological excavations carried on at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, during the springs of 1947 and 1948 have contributed important evidence that this was the site of Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated attempt to establish a colony on the American continent. Over the past few years, nation-wide public attention has been focused on this significant episode in American history by the presentation of Paul Green's symphonic drama, "The Lost Colony." Likewise, the designation of the area as a National Historic Site and its inclusion in the National Park System have increased public interest in the history of the "Citie of Ralegh in Virginia," as well as having brought additional attention to the site itself.

Historians have studied, and restudied, all readily available documentary records dealing with Raleigh's abortive colonizing efforts in North America during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and a great deal has been written on the subject. But no matter how carefully the records were studied, or how ingeniously the meagre evidence was analyzed in relation to natural features and existing remains, no one could say with certainty that the traditional site was actually that of Fort Raleigh. One might speculate on how the fort was built and what the little village looked like, but no one could go much beyond speculation. In regard to the houses, for instance, there are stray bits of recorded information, one suggesting that the houses had a second story and another indicating that the roofs were thatched.

[1] The traditional fort site and adjacent land, comprising an area of 16.45 acres, was transferred to the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior in 1940, and on April 5, 1941, under provision of the Historic Sites Act, it was designated the Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. By a cooperative agreement between the Roanoke Island Historical Association and the United States, "The Lost Colony" drama may continue to be given each season in the Waterside Theatre at Fort Raleigh.

Thus it is with almost all of the documentary evidence concerning the location and physical appearance of the settlement. One reference, for example, suggests that the town was set apart from the fort, while another indicates that the houses were clustered closely around it. And as to the most intriguing question of all—what took place after Governor White went back to England in 1587—there is only the stark evidence of the word CROATOAN which White found carved on a tree when he returned to Roanoke Island four years later.

It has been quite apparent, therefore, that unless additional historical records are found, many of the questions concerning this episode in American history would have to go unanswered. But there was also the possibility that some evidence might have been left in the ground which archeological excavations would some day reveal. As soon after the war as possible, therefore, the National Park Service began preliminary excavations. In the preliminary explorations conducted at the site during the past two years, it was possible to explore only a portion of the area in which the "Citie of Ralegh" may have been located.[2]

The present article is a brief account of the general results of these preliminary explorations. Usually much more excavating is done before even a preliminary report is prepared, but because of the importance of the information recovered at the site and the uncertainty as to when the excavating can be resumed, it seems worth while to make that information available at this time. The present article, therefore, will not be detailed, as archeological reports go, and considerable information not particularly pertinent or understandable at this stage will be omitted. Nor will I review, to any extent, the historical evidence already presented in other sources. The accompanying diagrams and illustrations have been prepared for the present use and are greatly simplified. Detailed records of soil differences and miscellaneous minor features found in the excavations are not shown, although they are recorded in the field notes and drawings for use when the final study is prepared.

As a necessary background for archeological investigations and for planning and carrying out adequate interpretive development

[2] The excavations described here were conducted by the National Park Service under the direction of the author, with the assistance of Robert Atkinson, Custodian, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site.

at the site, considerable documentary research had been done by the National Park Service before the war.[3] In addition to the reappraisal of early accounts, maps and records of later periods were studied. These included land records, wills, navigation charts, court records, accounts of travelers, and other sources which might relate to the problem of locating and identifying the site. Results of this research were compiled in manuscript form and later consolidated into a fairly comprehensive history of the site by Dr. Charles W. Porter, III.[4]

The program of exploratory excavating, begun in the spring of 1947 and continued during the spring of 1948, had quite definite but limited objectives. The primary purpose was to determine whether the traditional site was actually that of Fort Raleigh. The second objective was to locate the general area of the village in order that a program for more exhaustive excavating could be planned. The aim of the major excavating project, following the preliminary explorations, will be to learn all that is possible about Fort Raleigh—its houses, the fort, things the colonists used and wore, and if possible, what happened to the colony left there by Governor White in 1587.

The first step toward preserving and commemorating the site was taken in 1893 with the formation of the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association and its acquisition of the property the following year. In 1895 Talcott Williams carried on some archeological explorations for the Association, of which more will be said later, and in 1896 the traditional fort ruins were surveyed and outlined with stone markers.[5] In 1932 the Roanoke Island Historical Association was organized, and during the next few years, with Federal aid, a series of log buildings and the waterside theatre were constructed. Also at this time a stockade and log blockhouse were erected at the fort site, but these have since been removed. The trench for the stockade, which extended more than four feet into the ground, and the stone footing for the blockhouse naturally cause some damage to the fort remains.

[3] This research was made possible through the programs of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration, and was carried on largely by Dr. Charles W. Porter and Dr. Frederick Tilberg of the National Park Service.

[4] Charles W. Porter, III, "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, North Carolina: Part of the Settlement Sites of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colonies of 1585-1586 and 1587," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XX (1943), 22-42.

[5] For a report on Williams' explorations and a description of the ruins in 1895, see Talcott Williams, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1895, 47-61. Of the twenty-four granite markers outlining the fort, nine remain, eight of which are in their original location.

The site is heavily wooded, a fact which seriously hampers the archeological work and explains the apparent haphazard location of the exploratory trenches. The presence of roads and buildings also affected the location of the trenches. Except for sand dunes, the area is fairly level, ranging from ten to thirteen feet above the level of normal high tide in the sound. The dunes are relatively small, the highest rising twelve feet above the normal ground level. One dune, on which the log chapel stands, extends inland some 700 feet. This dune, as well as the ones along the shore, may occupy a part of the original village site. This imposes a serious excavating problem, particularly since the recent archeological work has demonstrated that the dunes are of a later period than the settlement.

Figure 1 shows the principal features at the site and the location of exploratory trenches excavated in 1947 and 1948. In beginning the archeological work, it was desirable to locate as early in the excavating as possible something tangible, that is, something unquestionably associated with the settlement. It seemed logical that if the traditional fort site could be authenticated, we would not only know that we were actually dealing with the original site, but would have some definite basis for further exploratory work. The first trench, therefore, was located across what appeared to be the remains of the southern bastion of the fort. The exact position of this trench, as well as later ones, was affected to some extent by the presence of trees. The principal reason for choosing this particular bastion was the statement by Talcott Williams that he had sunk no test trenches there during the 1895 excavations.

As hoped for, definite remains of a fort were found in this first trench in the form of a ditch, apparently belonging to a military earthwork. It was realized that additional explorations at the fort would be required, even at this preliminary stage, but in the hope of securing some definite indications of the village site, trenches were next extended out from the fort in three directions. One series was run southwest to the public highway, one toward the northeast to the edge of the sand dunes along the shore, and the third northwestward toward the chapel, altogether some 800 feet of trenches.

It was considered not impossible that positive evidence of the village site might be encountered in one of these first trenches, either house remains themselves or ashes and refuse indicating the presence of nearby house remains. It was also reasoned that if the village lay in this general location and had been surrounded by a palisade, evidence of the palisade might be found in one of these radial trenches. However, no habitation remains and no evidence of a palisade were found in this first series of trenches. The only important find was the charcoal pit in the trench running southwest from the fort, which will be described in more detail later. This trench, and the one toward the shore, were extended into the fort, and additional sections of the fort ditch were found thereby. From the information secured on the fort during the first season's work, we were fairly certain that this was, beyond any reasonable doubt, the remains of Ralph Lane's fort. It was decided, therefore, that the orientation of the fort, particularly the location of the entrance, might furnish a clue as to the location of the village.

Trenches were then placed so that the maximum information concerning the plan of the fort could be obtained with a minimum of digging. Most of our hypotheses were sound, and critical points on the fort, as well as the entrance, were located by means of five additional test trenches. Location of the entrance suggested that the remaining time might best be spent in exploring thoroughly the area directly in front of the entrance, that is, to the west of the fort. This led to the excavating of several trenches in the area immediately west of the fort ruins, in which an area approximately 150 feet square was rather thoroughly explored. At the same time a series of trenches was extended straight west from the fort across the sand dune on which the log chapel stands. This series was excavated, not only to look for remains of the village, but to determine, if possible, the age of the sand dune.

When the work was resumed in 1948, exploratory trenching continued in the area outside the fort, but at a greater distance. With the excavation of some 2,300 feet of trenches the second season, all of the 16-acre government tract was explored, with the exception of the sand dune areas along the shore. In addition, one trench was run eastward from the fort nearly 500 feet.

In conjunction with this search for evidence of the settlement, additional excavating was carried on at the fort. During the first season, only enough work was done to determine the general nature of the fort. The work of the second season uncovered critical points along the fort ditch, sufficient to show the entire plan of the fort. No additional cross sections were made through the fort ditch, the trenches extending down only a foot or so in most instances. Nor was any more of the interior of the fort investigated during the second season.

THE FORT

I know of only four specific references in the records indicating that a fort had been built by the Raleigh settlers on Roanoke Island. A fifth mentions plans to build a fort and houses. Ralph Lane sent a letter to Richard Hakluyt "From the New Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585."[6] This was little more than a month after the colonists landed on Roanoke Island. A second direct reference to a fort is found in Lane's account of a plot by the Indians to burn the settlement, of which he says that all the houses were to be set on fire, "and that as well for them at the fort, as for us at the towne."[7] Hariot, in writing about the sources of iron in the new territory, records that one was located "sixe score miles from the Fort or place where wee dwelt."[8] A fourth reference is contained in John White's description of the ruins found when he returned to Roanoke Island with a new band of settlers in 1587. The pertinent sections of the account are as follows: "The three and twentieth of July the Governour with divers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before. . . . When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons. . . ."[9]

A fort is mentioned on another occasion in the testimony given to the Spanish at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1600 by Darby

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[6] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (16 vols., Edinburgh, 1890; E. Goldsmid, ed.), XIII, 301.
[7] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 316.
[8] Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (facsmilie reproduction, William L. Clements Library, 1931), paragraph headed *Iron*, B3.
[9] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 362-363.

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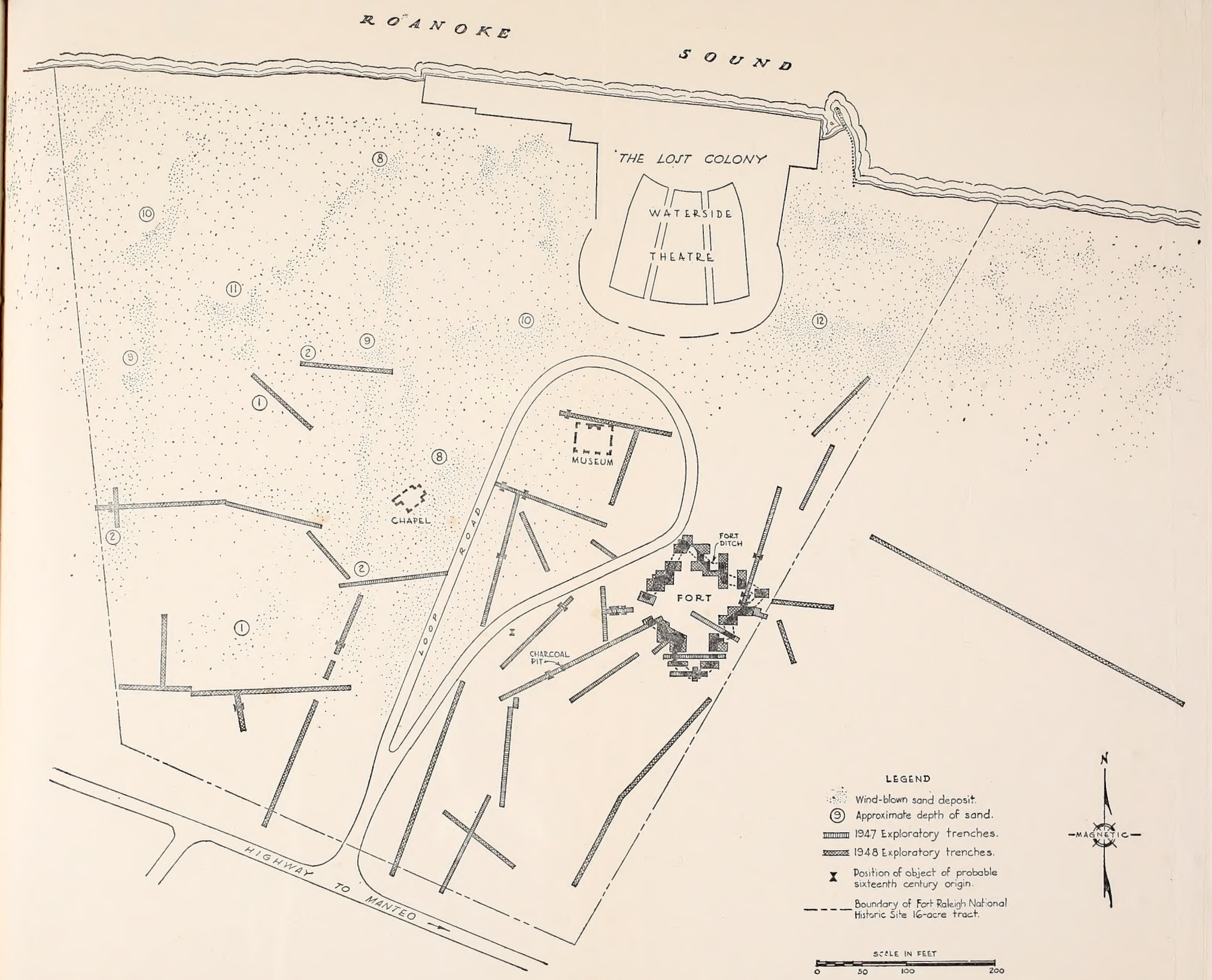


FIGURE 1

MAP OF FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, ROANOKE ISLAND, NORTH CAROLINA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE FORT RUINS AND THE EXPLORATORY TRENCHES EXCAVATED IN 1947 AND 1948.

Glande, one of the settlers of the 1585 enterprise. He is reported to have stated that as soon as the colonists landed "they began to make brick and fabric for a fort and houses."[10] Although there is no reason to question the evidence, it states only that the colonists *began* to make brick and does not furnish information as to the quantity of bricks made, nor that they were used in the actual construction of a fort and houses. There is also the possibility that the bricks were planned for structures within the fort rather than for fort construction proper.

Although these references furnish indisputable evidence that a fort existed at the "Citie of Ralegh," they are not specific concerning the location, size, or method of construction of that fort. It can be inferred from the account of the frustrated plot to set fire to the thatched roofs of buildings "at the fort, as for us at the towne," that in March, 1586, at least one building with a thatched roof stood within the fort. When the second group of settlers arrived in July, 1587, they found the fort "rased downe." This account states further that on the same day every man was ordered to repair the ruined houses and to build other "new Cottages, for such as should neede."[11] It is probably significant that no mention is made in this account of rebuilding the fort. From what we know now as to the probable construction of the fort—a small earthwork with ditches and earth embankment—the statement that the fort was "rased down" is not clear. It may have referred to a building, or buildings, originally standing within the fort, which other evidence would indicate had existed. It is also possible that this statement referred to a palisade, or to brick or timber construction in connection with the embankment of the fort.

When John White's relief party finally returned in 1591 (new style), no mention is made of a fort. The record states that "we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes [curtains] and flankers very Fortlike."[12] This reference is somewhat ambiguous, but it would seem to indicate that the entire

[10] General Archives of the Indies, *Audienca* of Santa Domingo—Letters of the Governors of Florida, 1568-1611, extract of a letter of Gonzalo Mendendez de Canco to Philip II, June 28, 1600, Case 54, Drawer 5, file 9, Seville, Spain; translated by Katherine Reding and printed in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII (1924). The name also appears as Glauin, Glaud, and Glavid.

[11] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 363.

[12] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 383-384.

village, rather than just a small fort, was enclosed with a palisade.

Nor do later maps and descriptions help us much in locating the fort and determining its original appearance. The first indication on a map of a fort in this vicinity is found on the Collet Map of 1770.[13] John Lawson, however, had mentioned visiting the ruin in 1709,[14] but it is not until Edward Bruce describes his visit of 1860 that we have a description of the ruins.[15]

Then in 1895, two years after the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association was formed, Talcott Williams explored and described the ruins. This was the first time the site had been explored archeologically, but, unfortunately, Williams' notes and records are lost. According to his published report, he dug thirteen trenches at the fort, most of them three by five feet in size and from four to nine feet deep.[16] He states that these test trenches were excavated inside the fort and not in the embankment or ditch. It is of interest, in this connection, that of the previous excavation trenches encountered in the recent work, one was near the center of the fort, while several were squarely within the old ditch fill, which Williams failed to recognize.

Williams reports finding a typical humus layer of six to eight inches, below which was a layer of "black, ashy earth, containing many fragments of charcoal and frequent fire pits. This layer rested directly on undisturbed sand, often penetrated by fire pits. . . . Toward the base of the black, ashy layer were found small pieces of iron, a corroded nail, a chipped piece of quartzite, and some small fragments of Indian pottery, networked. . . . For a site occupied at it was, the place proved singularly barren of debris."[17] Conditions somewhat similar to those described by Williams were noted in the recent excavations. His "fire pits" were undoubtedly the rotted and charred remains of tree roots, and his "small pieces of iron" were possibly the rusty appearing concretions found through the subsoil. These natural formations are commonly mistaken for iron. Williams' failure to observe the fort ditch when encountered is not surprising, since the soil

[13] *A Compleat Map of North Carolina from an Actual Survey*, by Captain Collett, Governor of Fort Johnston (London, 1770).
[14] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709), 62.
[15] Edward C. Bruce, "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XX (May, 1860), 721-736.
[16] Williams, *Surroundings*, 59.
[17] Williams, *Surroundings*, 59.

distinction is not always too obvious, and good archeological work can never be done in trenches as small as three by five feet.

Williams mentions the digging done by some Federal soldiers stationed on Roanoke Island in 1863.[18] According to his report, they apparently dug some holes at the eastern side of the ruins but were stopped by the owner before any great damage was done. With the two exceptions noted above, there is no record of the site having been disturbed until the palisade and blockhouse were erected in 1936.[19]

It is too early to give a detailed description of the fort, but the evidence uncovered so far is of interest and is sufficient to show the original shape and appearance of the structure (see Figures 2, 4, and 5). It is anticipated that complete excavation of the ruins will reveal many other details of the fort's construction and possibly remains of structures within the fort. The preliminary exploration, however, showed that the fort was a small earthwork with surrounding ditch. These excavations have also been of value in determining the best method of completing the excavations and in suggesting ways of treating the site for interpretive purposes.

Sections through the fort ditch were obtained at five points. In addition, the ditch was located in plan at all critical points, permitting the entire plan to be projected, as shown in Figure 2. The structure was basically a square with bastions on three sides and an entrance on the fourth. The clear space inside the parapet was not over sixty feet square. The sides of the fort were oriented approximately with the compass, the entrance facing almost due west. The two bastions facing the shore were triangular, while the third, facing inland, was "reniform" in shape, and noticeably unsymmetrical. Possibly a powder magazine or some other structure was located within this rounded bastion.

The sides of the original ditch, and probably the parapet as well, had a relatively steep slope and would have eroded very rapidly. The fill in the bottom of the ditch was found to be relatively pure subsoil material with little or no topsoil ad mixture.

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[18] Williams, *Surroundings*, 58.

[19] Local residents informed me that grading for a highway a few years ago extended up to the fort ruins from the south, possibly disturbing the south bastion. There are surface indications of a road a short distance to the west of this location. Apparently the grading operation was done in connection with relocating this eariler road which had served for many years as the main entrance to the site.

This would indicate that the light yellow sand, characteristic of the subsoil, had been thrown up last on the parapet, and was the first to be washed back into the ditch. This process of erosion must have started very soon after the fort was built, before any humus layer had developed in the bottom of the ditch or on the parapet. Contemporary instructions for building small earthworks called for sodding the faces of the parapet, but this would have been difficult to carry out at Fort Raleigh, because of the sandy soil of that locality.

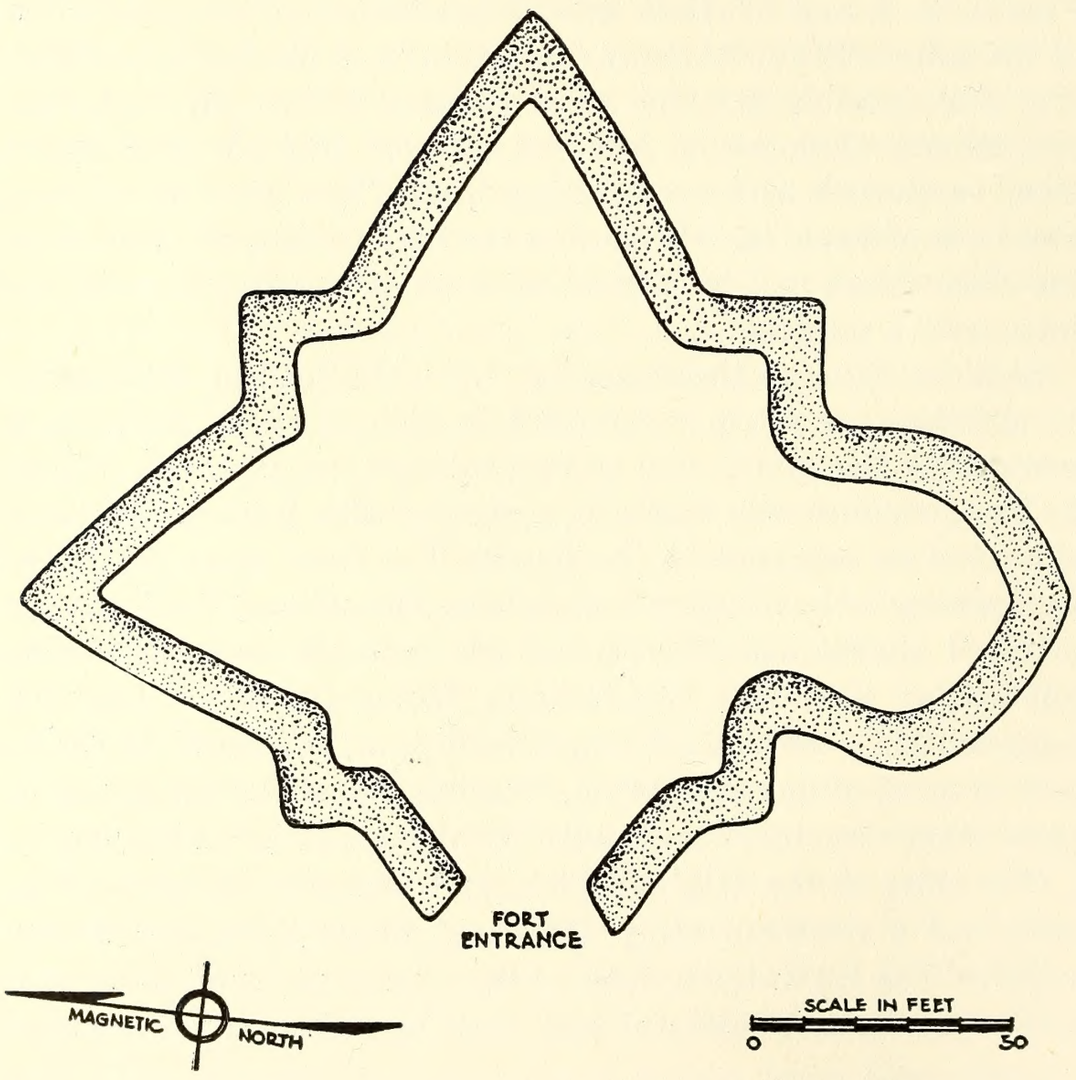


FIGURE 2

PLAN OF THE DITCH OF THE FORT RUINS AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, AS REVEALED BY ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.

After the ditch had partially filled in, there is evidence that further filling took place rather slowly. The fill in the upper layers is mixed with topsoil, and in places these darker humus deposits are roughly crescent-shaped, showing slow accumulation from leaf mould and other natural soil action. Eventually the parapet had washed down to within a foot or so of the original ground, and the ditch had filled up correspondingly. This, roughly, was the condition of the ruins when observed by Bruce in 1860 and by Williams thirty-five years later. The condition of the ditch fill, showing slow accumulation from natural causes over a relatively long period of time, is strong evidence of the fort's antiquity. Civil War earthworks on Roanoke Island, although abandoned for over eighty years, show no such erosion.

Of the few objects found in the excavations at the fort, none was in a position which would definitely associate it with the period of the fort's construction and use. Very little was found in the ditch fills, and all of it must have been deposited there after the fort came into disuse. Two large sherds of Indian pottery were found in the ditch fill, 1.0 feet and 2.2 feet, respectively, above the bottom of the ditch. This pottery might have been in the earth originally thrown up from the ditch and later washed back in again. Of European material, only two fragments were found at a depth which would suggest that they might have been deposited while the ditch was filling up from erosion of the parapet. One is a fragment of hand-made brick, found 2.5 feet above the bottom of the ditch; the other an unidentified piece of iron found 1.3 feet from the bottom. Only one dimension on the brick is available, the thickness, which is 2¼ inches. This happens to be the thickness of bricks required by English statute at the time of the Roanoke Island settlements. It must have found its way into the ditch fill at a fairly early date, and may very well have come from one of the settlement's structures. The hand-wrought iron object is a thin, flat blade or strap, two inches wide. The portion found, apparently only part of the original, is seven inches in length.

The only other objects encountered, except occasional sherds of Indian pottery and a few small nondescript iron fragments near the surface, were seven large, handwrought iron spikes found in the northeast bastion about four inches below the present

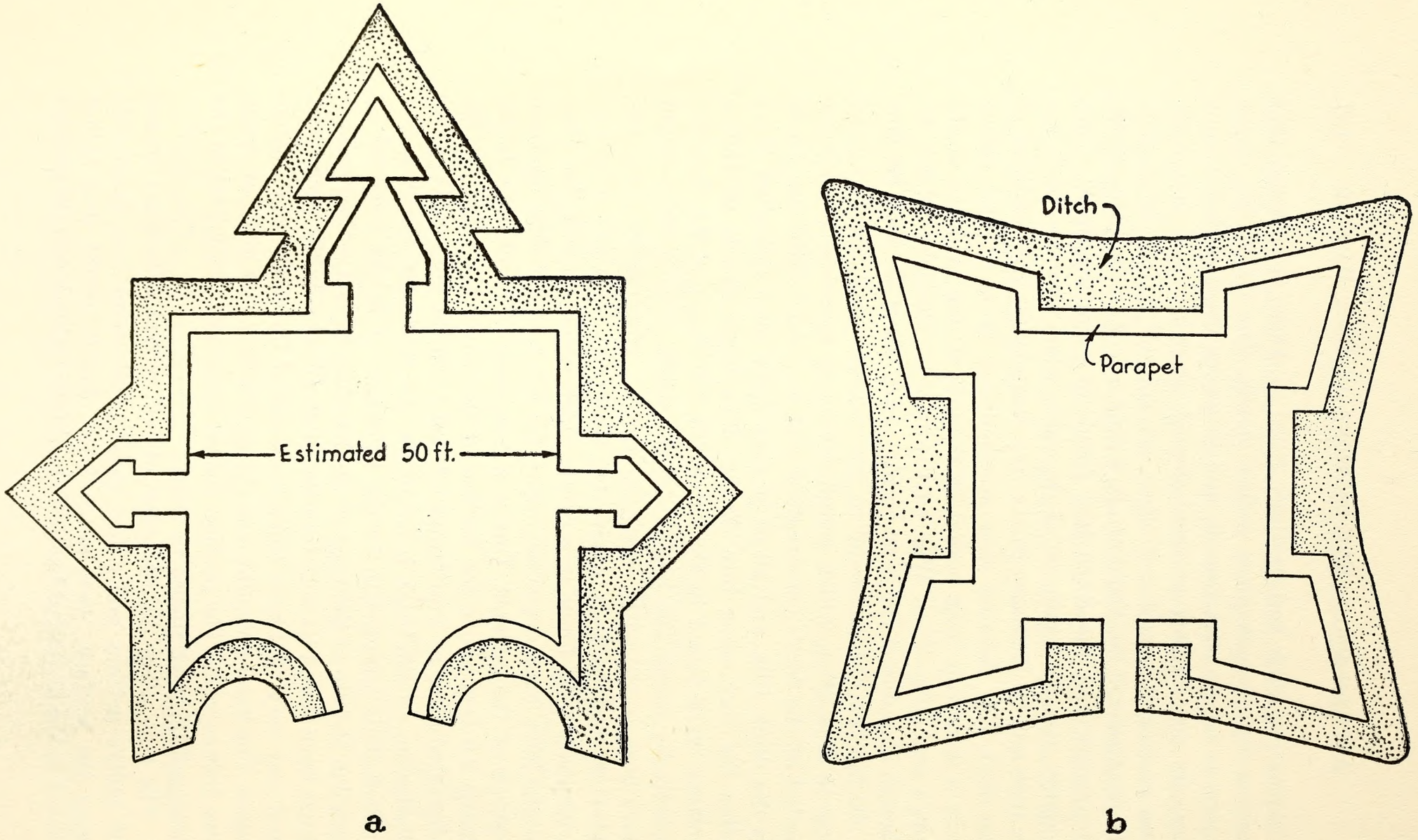


FIGURE 3

RALPH LANE'S FORT ON ST. JOHN'S ISLAND (PUERTO RICO) COMPARED WITH CONVENTIONAL BASTIONED FORT OF SIMILAR SIZE AND CONSTRUCTION.

A. SIMPLIFIED COPY OF JOHN WHITE'S WATER COLOR SKETCH, LABELLED BY THE ARTISTS "THE FORME OF A FORT WHICH WAS MADE BY MR. RALFE LANE IN A PARTE OF ST. JOHNS ILANDE NEERE CAPROS WHERE WE TOKE IN SALT THE XXVITH OF MAY, 1585."

B. TYPICAL SMALL, FOUR-SIDED EARTHWORK OF THE PERIOD

surface. They were in a cluster as though deposited in a bundle. They are badly rusted, but appear to have been approximately seven and one-half inches long and one-half inch square just below the head, tapering uniformly to a flattened point. In brief, very little cultural material was found at the fort ruins, and none under conditions which would prove the ruins to be those of the Lane fort.

The strongest evidence in favor of this ruin being Lane's fort of 1585 is its distinctive plan. Although I have referred to *bastions* in describing the remains, these may very well have not been true bastions with flanks. All we have to go on at present is the shape of the ditch. If the parapet followed the ditch outline exactly, then the fort was a modified *star fort*. In this case, the structure might be described as a star fort, formed on a square, having large angles on four sides with small angles between, and having the entrance at the point of one of the large angles.

Even though star forts were constructed at the period of Fort Raleigh, they were not looked upon with favor by military engineers for the lacked the flanking defense afforded by the bastioned fort. As early as 1585, the formal bastioned fort had come into use, although the period of great systematization came somewhat later, particularly with the work of Vauban and others of his day. The method of building bastioned forts must have been known to Lane, but it would appear that he favored forms derived from the star-fort design. One manual of that day, written by Paul Ive, and published in London in 1589, is very explicit as to materials, form, and use of forts.[20] The bastioned forms shown in Ive's handbook (Figure 3-b), which are recommended for small earthworks, are quite unlike the fort on Roanoke Island.

Other works of that period gave similar instructions for constructing small earthworks, and the term "sconse" or "skonse" was often employed for fortifications of this type. This recalls Lane's letter in which he proposed to build sconses at two-day march intervals along the route to the Chesapeake Bay region.[21]

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[20] Paul Ive, *The Practise of Fortification* (London, 1589). Several fortifications erected about this time are of particular interest for comparative purposes. Among them are Fort Caroline in Florida (1564); Grenville's fort in Puerto Rico (1585); Lane's fort in Puerto Rico (1585); Fort St. George in Maine (1607); and Jamestown, Virginia (1607). A contemporary plan or description is available for each of these.

[21] Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 305-306. Lane wrote that at the head of the river [sound] he would raise "a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men," and that similar sconses would be raised at intervals along the route.

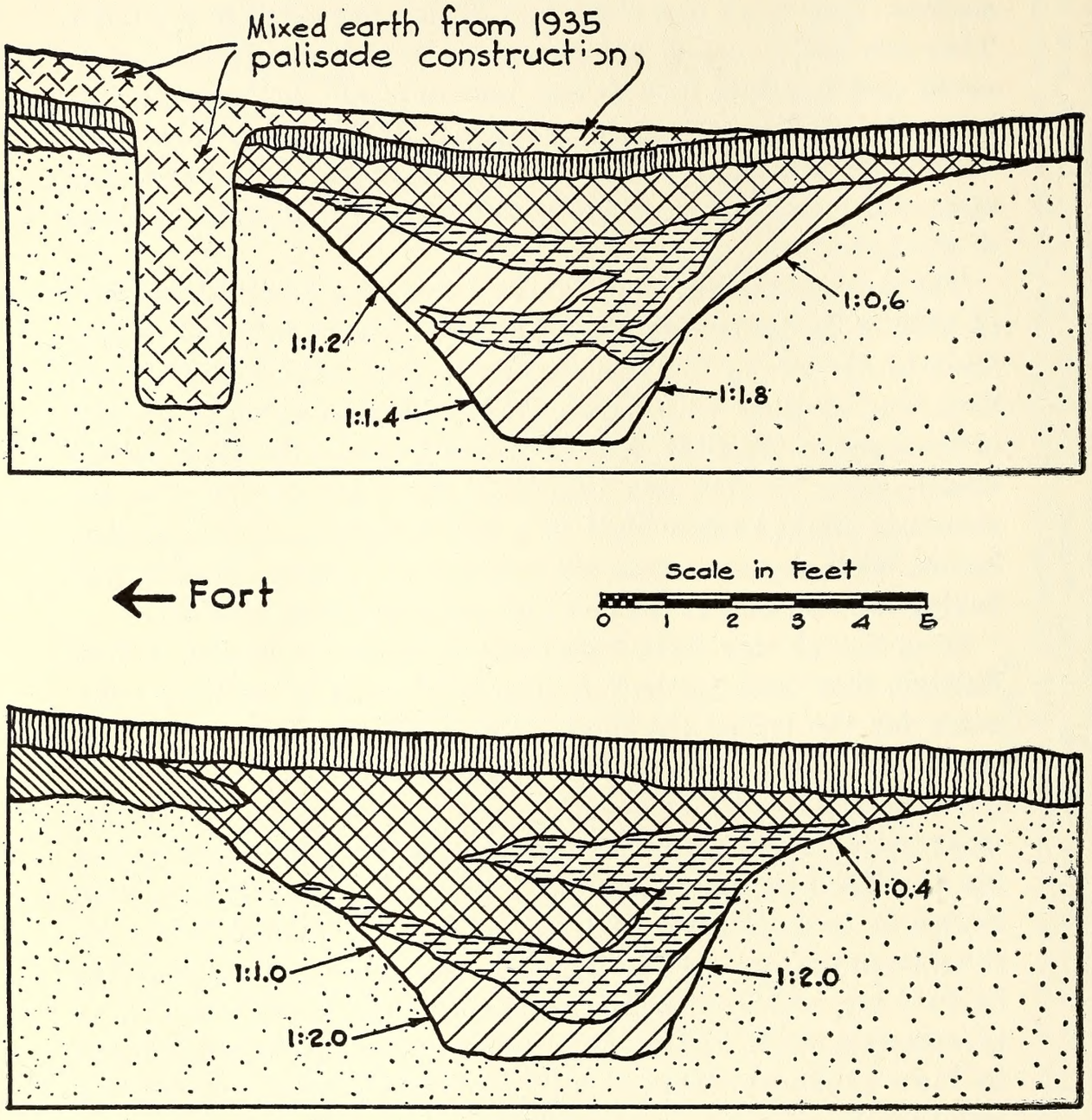


FIGURE 4

TYPICAL CROSS SECTIONS THROUGH OLD FORT DITCH AT FORT RALEIGH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, SHOWING SHAPE OF ORIGINAL DITCH AND NATURE OF DITCH FILL.

Lane's high regard for the defensive worth of the sconse, properly located, is indicated in his letter to Secretary Walsingham, written while he lay at anchor off the coast opposite Roanoke Island. Referring to the advantages of a certain inlet, he states that this inlet, "if fortified by a sconse, could not be entered by the whole force of Spain."[22]

Of special interest in this respect is the fort built by Lane at St. John's Island (now Puerto Rico) on his way to Virginia, as recorded in one of White's drawings (Figures 3 a). This fort—or perhaps Lane would have called it a sconse—was built as a temporary protection from the Spanish while the English colonists were gathering salt.[23] No scale is shown on White's sketch, but judging from the size of the people and a small boat, the fort was apparently similar in size to the earthwork on Roanoke Island. The distinctive thing about this St. John's fort was its plan—a square with bastions on the sides rather than at the corners.

White shows one odd-shaped bastion in the Puerto Rico fort, with a sort of "arrow-head" plan. It is possible that this is the artist's conception of a leaf-shaped form, such as the southeast bastion of the Roanoke Island fort. Likewise, the entrances of both forts may have been more similar than White's drawing would indicate.

Although the St. John's fort, as represented in White's sketch, has bastions of a sort, it is not a bastioned fort in the true sense, and basically is similar to the fort on Roanoke Island. The similarity of these two structures is the strongest evidence we have thus far for identifying the one on Roanoke Island as the fort built by Ralph Lane for the first Virginia colony.[24]

Post-settlement accounts of the site are not sufficiently detailed, or precise as to location, positively to identify the traditional site. A fort in this location first appears on the 1770 Collet map, which eliminates the possibility of its having been built during the

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[22] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, 3.

[23] The official record of this episode is as follows: "The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo Bay upon the South-west side of Saint John, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe upon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hills within the trench." Hakluyt, *Navigations*, XIII, 295-296. White's sketch, however, shows what appears to be two salt hills.

[24] To Dr. Charles W. Porter should go the credit for first suggesting the comparison of these two forts built under the direction of Ralph Lane as possibly the surest way of identifying the ruins on Roanoke Island. He called attention to a general similarity between the two, suggested by comparison of the 1896 survey and the White sketch. (Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 29.)

Revolutionary War. There is no record of military activity in this vicinity prior to 1770, although there is evidence that a town, with fortifications to defend it, was planned for Roanoke Island early in the eighteenth century.[25] The location, apparently, was to have been approximately that of the present town of Manteo, but later maps and land records would indicate that the plan for building the town and fortifications was never carried out.

Weighing all available evidence, therefore, it would seem that the case for the ruins at Fort Raleigh being those of the fort built by Lane in 1585, which tradition has staunchly maintained throughout the years, is too strong to longer doubt.

One wonders why the fort was located some 500 feet inland, whereas the one at St. John's Island was built directly on the shore. The answer is quite obvious. The St. John's fort was built to protect the Englishmen from Spaniards, already on the island, while the salt hill was being looted and the salt loaded on their ship, anchored off shore. At Roanoke Island, on the other hand, the settlers were concerned with Spaniards who might approach from the water. Obviously, the fort was not constructed to provide protection from the Indians. Even as undermanned as the settlement was, the English did not look upon the "savages" as worthy military antagonists. They certainly realized that an earthwork with a few cannon would be quite ineffective against an enemy that hid behind trees, shot fire brands into the thatched roofs of their houses, and attacked without warning in the night.

There is evidence that the shore line has changed perceptibly during the past three centuries, although the shore directly opposite the fort may have been in about the same position as at present. Apparently considerable erosion has taken place westward from the site. There is also evidence that the present cove, toward which the northeast bastion of the fort points, did not exist in its present form in earlier times. It is difficult to say just what the shape of the shore line was in 1585, but it seems likely that there was a slight indentation opposite the fort site. This would explain not only the indentation shown on White's map in this general vicinity, but also the orientation of the fort. Guns in the two pointed bastions would have controlled nearly half a mile of shore line opposite the fort. In this position the

[25] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 40.

little earthwork could have dealt quite effectively with landing parties from Spanish ships. This important problem of the configuration of the shore line during the time of the settlement obviously calls for further research.

From the archeological evidence thus far secured, some conclusions can be drawn as to the original appearance of the fort. The ditch appears to have been about five feet deep and from ten to twelve feet across at the ground level. A hypothetical section through the ditch and parapet is shown in Figure 5.

The excavating thus far has revealed no evidence of a stockade laid against the scarp (logs laid vertically against the fort side of the ditch), which was sometimes done when soil conditions required. Likewise, there may well have been a berm (level space between toe of parapet and top of ditch), in view of the sandy nature of the soil and the difficulty that would have been encountered in adequately sodding the slopes.

Excavations have thus far revealed none of the features found in more elaborate defensive works, such as a "covert way," "place of arms," or "palisade," in the area outside the ditch, and it is doubtful if such features would have been used in so simple a structure. Nor was there conclusive evidence of a "glacis" (slight elevation at top of outer edge of ditch), although this feature may well have been used.

The excavating thus far has not been sufficient to determine any details concerning the original parapet. There was probably a "banquette" (firing step) along the inside of the parapet, as shown in Figure 5. The outer slope of the parapet, normally sodded on works of this sort, may have been faced with logs, but almost certainly brick or stone was not used. The number and location of embrasures for the guns will probably never be known, although further excavating inside the fort may reveal the location of timber gun platforms.

The fort undoubtedly had some sort of feature for protecting the entrance ("ravelin"), although the one trench extending west from the entrance revealed no evidence of such a structure. It could well have been a simple breastwork, without ditch or palisade, in which case all remains would likely have disappeared.

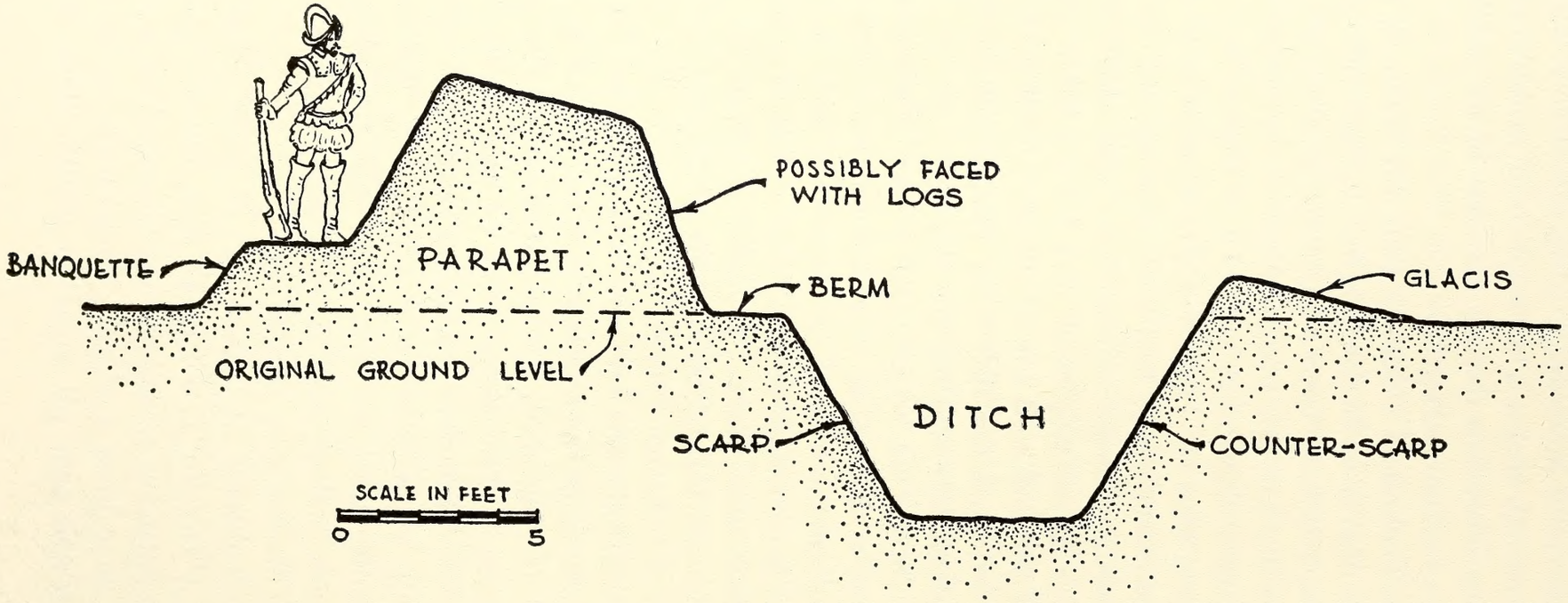


FIGURE 5

SECTION THROUGH PARAPET AND DITCH OF SIMPLE TYPE OF EARTH WORKS OF THE FORT RALEIGH PERIOD, SUGGESTING POSSIBLE APPEARANCE OF THE FORT CONSTRUCTED BY THE RALEIGH COLONISTS ON ROANOKE ISLAND.

Within the fort there was at least one thatched building, as previously mentioned. This may have been a storehouse or quarters for the garrison. There would likely have been a powder magazine and a well, both of which should be found when further excavating is done.

THE VILLAGE

Although some 4,000 lineal feet of exploratory trenches were excavated outside the fort, no physical remains of settlers' homes were found, nor was there encountered sufficient building or household refuse to indicate the proximity of a habitation area. The fact that no visible remains of houses were found is not surprising, even though the exploratory trenches may have crossed the settlement area. The buildings were certainly constructed of impermanent materials and were probably built directly on the ground.[26] In spite of the presence in the colony of brickmakers and masons and in spite of the Irishman Glande's testimony, it is doubtful if bricks were made and used in any of the houses at Fort Raleigh. Moreover, the Indians, who were in the region for at least a hundred years after the settlement was abandoned, would have carried away almost anything they might have found on the ground.

Even though relatively little habitation refuse was found in any of the trenches, it is true that more was found immediately to the west of the fort. The trenches north, east, and south of the fort were completely sterile. In view of the available evidence, it is my opinion that the settlement lay to the west of the fort, possibly within a distance of a few hundred feet. Further excavating in areas beyond those already explored may reveal definite evidence of house sites, but it is not impossible that the settlement stood within the area already explored.

In excavating the five-foot-wide exploratory trenches, the earth was removed in layers, roughly two inches thick, until the yellow-brown subsoil was reached. Intrusions into this subsoil stratum, whether natural or man-made, are easily recognized. Only a very few features or disturbances of human origin were encountered, and these, on the whole, appeared to be of no importance.

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[26] Undoubtedly the buildings were timber-framed, with a timber sill resting on the ground. Possibly other crude materials were used, such as wattle, but it is almost certain that logs, laid horizontally, were not used by the early English colonists.

Some were clearly of recent origin, such as the filled post holes from the posts for the speaker's stand, erected for the August 18, 1937, celebration at which Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke. Even so, every disturbance of the ground was accurately recorded for future reference. In addition, the location of trees, evidenced by darkened areas caused by decayed or burned roots, was recorded.

Only one feature worth mentioning here was encountered. It was a rectangular pit, roughly three and a half by four and a half feet in size and four and a half feet deep, located about 100 feet west of the fort. The bottom two feet of the pit was a solid mass of charcoal, made from unsplit pine sticks, from one to four inches in diameter. Some showed ax marks where they had been cut, and none of the pieces appeared to be much longer than a foot. There was evidence of heat on the sides and bottom of the pit, but no ashes were found in the pit, suggesting that it had been used infrequently, possible no more than the one time. This is certainly not the convential method of making charcoal, but we cannot assume that the first colonists in Virginia were always conventional. Even though this pit may not have served as an intentional means of making charcoal, it is quite apparent that it is very old and may well date from the period of the settlement. It stood for a considerable time, nearly filled, as shown by the relatively thick humus layer over the depression. No cultural material was found in the fill or among the charcoal, but it may be possible to date the feature by tree-ring study. Such a date would be highly important, for if it should be later than 1587, it would show that the colonists had not abandoned the site earlier than that date. Discovery of this charcoal reminds us of the fact that the first group of colonists had set up a portable iron "forge" in Puerto Rico in May, 1585, while en route to Roanoke Island, for making nails.[27]

In planning further excavations, as well as interpreting historical records and archeological finds, it would be advantageous to know as much as possible about the topography of the site at the time of the settlements. During the recent excavating some information was gained concerning soil conditions and topography changes, particularly the development of the sand dunes.

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[27] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 27.

The original ground in this vicinity was relatively level, sloping from eight to ten feet above average high tide near the shore to about fourteen feet at the southeast corner of the sixteen-acre tract. The fort was not placed on a natural eminence, as might be suposed, although there was a low knoll 300 feet west of the fort. This knoll, in the vicinity of the present log chapel, may have been the cause for the later accumulation of wind-blown sand which formed the dune on which the chapel stands. The present topsoil layer averages six to eight inches in thickness and shows no evidence of having been plowed. In addition to the dune deposits previously mentioned, there is a thin sand deposit over a great portion of the area. There are no large trees growing on these sand dunes, and no trees in the vicinity, for that matter, of any great antiquity. It is doubtful if any tree there is 200 years old.

Archeological evidence showed quite conclusively that some, and probably all, of the dunes on the site had developed after the period of the settlement. A brass buckle, an iron nail, and some miscellaneous refuse, such as burned clam shells, were found on the old top soil below considerable sand dune deposit. The finds were made under closely observed conditions, and it was clear, in each instance, that the sand layer had not been disturbed since it was deposited. This evidence confirms the theory that the dunes along the shore in this vicinity, as well as the sand deposit of varying thickness over most of the site, were formed subsequent to the clearing of the land when the settlement was established.[28] It also explains the apparent incongruity of a fort built behind the dunes when it obviously was intended to command the approach of enemies from the water side.

In addition to the objects found in the excavations at the fort ruins, relatively little European material was recovered. No single artifact found thus far is limited in provenience to the Elizabethan period, although most of the objects are not out of place there. It is unlikely, moreover, that any such object will ever be found, although there is always hope that a coin or some other datable artifact will come to light.

[28] It is possible, of course, that the colonists made use of land already cleared by the Indians.

Of the ceramic fragments found, one is a small piece of lead-glazed earthenware from the rim of a Spanish olive jar. As the colonists had traded for supplies in the Spanish West Indies while en route to Virginia in June, 1585, this discovery may be of prime significance.[29] A few small fragments of stoneware appeared, but they cannot be ascribed to a specific period. Two larger pieces of earthenware, however, appear to be very old and could well be from the settlement period. A portion of a brass buckle was found among a large group of Indian pottery sherds near the entrance to the fort. This buckle is not out of place at Fort Raleigh, but cannot be assigned exclusively to the Elizabethan period. The same is true of a second brass buckle fragment found in the westernmost trench, lying in the old topsoil below more than two feet of sand dune deposit.

A brass finial, said to have been found in the roots of an overturned tree several years ago and now in the collection at Fort Raleigh, may very well date from 1585. A lead ball was found in a location that suggests it was not of recent origin. It was 16 mm. in diameter, which would be about .62 calibre, or 20 to the pound.

As mentioned before, the interesting thing is the relative scarcity of cultural material or refuse of any sort. There were, of course, the usual bottle caps, but aside from these and occasional modern nails and tin cans, there was very little of recent origin. This would confirm the evidence, both traditional and documentary, that the site had not been built upon since the time of the Raleigh settlements until the recent activities of the Roanoke Island Historical Association.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS

Sherds of Indian pottery were found in several of the trenches, but in no large quantity, except in one small area just outside the entrance to the fort. Study of this pottery suggests several interesting problems, particularly when it is compared with pottery from other Indian sites in this general region. Much more work will have to be done, however, both at Fort Raleigh and at other sites nearby, before the subject can be discussed intelligently. It is quite possible that information will be secured which will establish the cultural position of the local Indians contemporan-

[29] Porter, "Fort Raleigh," 27.

eous with the Raleigh settlement. Such studies should also show the sequence of Indian cultures in the region both before and after the short contact with Europeans at the close of the sixteenth century. Study of the Indian remains in the Roanoke Island region appears to be a most fertile field for answering important historical questions, among them the story of the Lost Colony. This would require surface surveys and excavations at selected sites which the surveys indicate are probably contemporaneous with the English settlement.

SUMMARY

Briefly, the two seasons' explorations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site have shown, beyond reasonable doubt, that the site is that of the Raleigh settlements on Roanoke Island. They have established the identity, type of construction, and plan of Ralph Lane's fort, built there in 1585. They failed to locate the site of the village, which was presumably in the general vicinity of the fort, but they did reveal certain conditions which strongly suggest that the settlement may have been located in the area immediately west of the fort.

An important result of the excavating was in showing that a great deal of the original fort is left in the ground, and that careful investigation of these remains should provide fairly complete information as to its original appearance.

THOMAS BURKE, DISILLUSIONED DEMOCRAT

By ELISHA P. DOUGLASS

During his tumultuous, short, and tragic political career, Thomas Burke, the Revolutionary patriot and governor, showed a growing disillusionment with popular government that was typical of many Revolutionary leaders.[1] The accumulating disasters which struck North Carolina in the years 1779-1783 and his own growing feeling of bitterness and resentment toward his colleagues in the government led him to relinquish the greater part of his earlier democratic creed. Thus, himself the representative of a frontier society, he ended his life with only contempt for the individualism of the backwoods. Although he drafted one of the first democratic pronunciamentos in American history—the Orange instructions to the county delegates at the Halifax Congress of 1776—he advocated a hereditary aristocracy at the close of his political career. The pioneer theorist of state sovereignty in 1777, he led the fight for centralized authority in the Continental Congress in 1780. Suspicious of executive power, he turned out to be an arbitrary state governor and did not hesitate to nullify the Assembly's legislation. Finally he was compelled to compromise even his personal honor by breaking his parole to the British army.

None of these inconsistencies were due to lack of courage or conscious hypocrisy. Burke had to compromise his principles for two reasons: first, the disastrous course of the war in North Carolina made political consistency a dangerous virtue; second, Burke's inability to get along with people produced a disillusionment that eventually colored his whole outlook on life. It was Burke's tragedy that he died believing that his reputation had

[1] Although there is a tremendous amount of material bearing on Burke in *The State Records of North Carolina* and in E. C. Burnett (ed.) *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, no full-length biography of him has been written. For short sketches see *Dictionary of American Biography;* S. A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 27-32; J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton, "Governor Thomas Burke," *North Carolina Booklet*, VI (1906-1907), 103-122; speech by Archibald Henderson in *The Durham Herald-Sun*, Oct. 22, 1944. The one special study on Burke is J. B. Sanders, "Thomas Burke in the Continental Congress," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 22-37. Little if any use has been made of the interesting manuscript material on Burke at the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, or in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill. The present article is an attempt to bring together all the sources on Burke and to present him against the background of the sectional and class struggles of the Revolutionary period.

been distroyed by his enemies and that his state did not remember the tremendous sacrifices he made in her behalf.

Of Burke's early life little or nothing is known. Born in Galway, Ireland, about 1747, he wrote later that his family had once been affluent but that "misfortunes reduced me to the alternative of domestic indolent dependence or an enterprising peregrination, and I very early made choice of the latter, which I have no reason to repent of." [2] Probably Burke was brought up by his uncle, Sir Fielding Auld. The uncle sent him to a university, but the two apparently quarrelled and young Thomas set out for America.[3] Nearly all we know about his young manhood is contained in two letters, one to his uncle and the other to a "dear cozen," both in Ireland.[4] Burke must have felt keenly the stigma of ostracism, for he brags flagrantly about his tremendous achievements in America. Settled at Norfolk, he announced to his uncle that he was the intimate friend of all the great men thereabouts, "at the head of the literati of America. Esteemed the pattern of Taste and the Prince of Genius."[5] Then with obvious satisfaction over the surprise this must cause, Burke proceeds to document his boast. He includes an ode on the occasion of the repeal of the Stamp Act which he wrote only for his private enjoyment, but which was of course wrung from him by his numerous admirers. He declares that it was immediately pronounced "a prodigy of Genius." But young Thomas makes it clear that the dizzy heights of fame have not altered his nature. He would never have mentioned the matter of the ode, he says, except that his motto was "Magis Amicus Veritas." His fondest ambition is still "Secura Quies et Naquid fallere Vita."

The ode begins,

> Triumph America! Thy Patriot Voice
> Has made the greatest of mankind rejoice,

[2] To John Bloomfield, April 25, 1772, Burke Letter Books, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Burke's family was apparently distinguished. A relative compiled a lengthy genealogy which he delivered to Thomas Burke in a letter of Dec. 2, 1769. *State Records of North Carolina*, XV, 676-679. (Hereafter cited as *S. R.*)

[3] Referring to Auld, Burke comments, "Him I had the honor of stiling a near relation, but I am not very vain thereof nor desirous that he should so regard me." To Bloomfield, Apr. 25, 1772, Burke Letter Books. Auld is almost undoubtedly the uncle referred to in an undated letter of Burke's which begins: "I have held a long struggle between Indignation and Natural Affections. The latter has at length prevailed." He then goes on to inquire about his relations, describing himself as "without a crime nor prone to any vice, almost free of the levity of Persons of Age, abandoned, persecuted, denied even justice . . . ." *S. R.*, XIX, 921.

[4] "Dear cozen" was a Mrs. Jones with whom Burke was apparently in love before his departure and his subsequent marriage. She was the only one of all his friends "who have ever given me to know that I had any place in their memory." Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books. The Letter to Mrs. Jones is in *S. R.*, XIX, 917-920.

[5] *S. R.*, XIX, 922.

He goes on to apostrophize Pitt and Meredith and ends with a stern injunction to "the ladies:"

> And you ye fair, on whom our hopes depend
> On future Fame and Empire to Extend,
> Whose fruitful beds shall dauntless Myriads yield
> To Fight for Freedom in some Future Field,
> Resign each dear.[6]

Burke turned out a considerable number of like productions. None entitle him to much praise, but after the first enthusiasm was spent he was able to regard the ladies in a less functional manner. Much of his verse consisted of love lyrics, and from the variety of names that appear he was apparently a very enthusiastic but fickle swain.[7]

Burke was more explicit but scarcely less conceited about the progress of his career in his letter to his "cozen," Mrs. Jones. On arrival in Virginia he studied medicine. "My success was very great, and my opinion even by the most experienced was relied on," he declared. But finding that law was more profitable, he studied "for a few months," took an examination to practice, and passed "with very great applause." His practice, as might be expected from his account, was soon immense.[8]

Stripped of youthful braggadocio these two letters show Burke as an ambitious, energetic, uninhibited, brash young man of real ability. But their tone betrays those very weaknesses which did so much to darken his later life. His resentment against his uncle, although perhaps justified, is an example of a quickness to take offense which made him many enemies. His conceit was never entirely conquered but reappeared in the form of an exaggerated self-deprecation which he often employed in a rather obvious effort to call forth assurances of his superiority. His ambition turned into an agressive self-confidence which secured his position as a natural leader but also made him stubborn.

In religion Burke was an avowed deist, although probably born a Catholic. He condemned bigotry and religious "enthusiasm" and showed supreme contempt for clergymen. He gives a

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[6] *S. R.*, XIX, 922-924.
[7] See Burke Papers in N. C. Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, and Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill.
[8] *S. R.*, XIX, 918, 919.

rather unflattering picture of them in a satirical poem describing the feelings of a sow seeing her offspring about to be slaughtered for Thanksgiving dinner:

> Doomed to behold her slaughtered offspring bleed,
> That priests may glut, and glutted priestlings feed;
> That saints and saintlings sate their ravening maws,
> And blend their ethic with the christian laws.

In a footnote he declares he is not against religion itself, but considers himself "a citizen of the world." Admitting that there might be true saints, he explains that his antipathy extends only to those who are "enthusiastic." [9] This attitude, typical of the eighteenth-century deist, suggests Voltaire. Although most of Burke's antipathy was directed against New England puritanism, his expression of it was so broad as to include all organized religion. In all his writings there is no evidence that he ever considered himself a Catholic or that he ever attended Mass.

Burke's temperament, past experiences, and associations all combined to produce the radical. He was one of that group of natural revolutionaries who had left England in their youth after more or less unhappy experiences and had come to America to make their fortunes—men like Tom Paine and James Iredell. Declaring himself "a passionate lover of liberty and a Hater of Tyranny" at the time of the Stamp Act, Burke defined liberty as "being governed by laws made with the Constitutional consent of the community, ultimately judged by that community and enjoying and disposing their property only agreeable to Will. . . ." [10] Looking back on his youth after his retirement, he explained: "The rights of Mankind became known to me and I was early impressed with their importance. Policy seemed to me what involved so much human misery or happiness, and my love of humankind prompted me to examine its principles and to acquire clear ideas concerning it. My zeal was a passion for the liberty of mankind. I could not stand aloof from the struggle." [11]

Having taken his stand, Burke "commenced politician." But the results of his activities do not appear on the records for sev-

[9] Burke MSS., Southern Hist. Coll., Chapel Hill. An Irish friend, Dr. Fallon, wrote to Burke later in life, "You are a philosopher, more merciful than religious." *S. R.*, XIV, 50.

[10] *S. R.*, XIX, 922. In a second letter to his "cozen" Burke declares himself not English but American, "sharing the general love of liberty of the country." Undated letter, Burke MSS., Southern Hist. Coll.

[11] Letter of July 6, 1782, Burke Letter Books.

eral years. He apparently practiced both medicine and law at Norfolk and ran a profitable business on the side collecting bills for merchants. His letter books show that he corresponded regularly with some of the outstanding lawyers and whigs of Virginia—Jefferson, Pendleton, Nicholas, and Wythe.[12]

In 1772 Burke moved from Norfolk to Orange County, North Carolina, following the example of a host of Virginians who saw new opportunities in a fertile, relatively unsettled country.[13] He laid out a plantation near Hillsborough but apparently spent most of his time in a law practice which grew steadily more prosperous.[14] One of his most important clients was the Scottish merchant, Andrew Miller of Hillsborough, who subsequently became a loyalist.[15]

Burke's political ambitions were first realized in 1775 when he was elected to the second Provincial Congress.[16] From that time forward he indeed "commenced politician." Reelected to the subsequent congresses at Hillsborough and Halifax, he grew steadily in importance as a whig politician, to judge from the increasingly important committee work for which he was chosen.

When the Congress met at Halifax, April 4, 1776, independence was in the air. Governor Martin had fled to a British war vessel. The whigs had already fought and won the battle of Moore's Creek. To men like Burke, Caswell, Harnett, and Person, independence seemed logical and inevitable. But others held back. Maurice Moore in a clandestine letter to Martin had stated that all North Carolina desired was the status of the years before 1763.[17] Joseph Hewes viewed independence with reluctance.[18] Samuel Johnston, the colony's leading conservative, also had

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[12] See entries in Burke Letter Books for year 1769.

[13] Burke's main reason for leaving Norfolk was apparently his desire to find a more healthful climate. He picked the region around Hillsborough because "the lands are fertile, the water good and the climate remarkably moderate and healthy." Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books. The extent of the immigration into Orange can be judged from a letter in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, March 11, 1768: "There is scarce any history either ancient or modern, which affords an account of such a rapid increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country as that of North Carolina . . . . Twenty years ago there were not 20 taxable people within the limits of the county of Orange, in which there are now 4,000 taxable."

[14] "I follow my business more extensively than before," he wrote back to a friend in Norfolk. Letter of Dec. 29, 1772, Burke Letter Books.

[15] For Burke's relations with Miller see *S. R.*, IX, 356, 826, 1004. Miller, a close friend of Gorvenor Martin, tried to gain Burke's support in the effort to have the sinecure position of clerk of the pleas abolished and the extensive patronage it carried transferred to the governor. But Burke insisted that only the legislature could alter the judicial system. Letter to Miller, April 14, 1774, Burke Letter Books.

[16] Hamilton, *Thomas Burke*, 105.

[17] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 396. (Hereafter cited as *C. R.*) Also printed in *S. R.*, XI, 269.

[18] *S. R.*, XI, 288.

fears. On April 4 he wrote Hewes in Philadelphia that no move toward independence should be made before foreign alliances were secured.[19] These men were staunch whigs and they were willing to carry resistance even to the point of arms, but independence, with all its consequences, was for them a step to be taken only with the greatest caution.

But they could not hold back the radicals. On April 8 a committee of seven, including Burke, Person, and Harnett, was chosen "to take into consideration the usurpation and violences" of Great Britain.[20] Four days later the committee brought forth a report recommending that the congressional delegates be empowered to vote for independence. It was carried unanimously.

With the colony committed to independence it was necessary to draft a plan of government. A committee including Burke, Person, Johnston, Harnett, Nash, and later Hooper was appointed to draft a "temporary" constitution. But immediately a split occurred between the conservatives and radicals. In the other colonies there had been bitter debate over the subject of independence. Men like Jay and Duane of New York, Galloway and Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and Rutledge of South Carolina instinctively opposed independence because they feared that violence might lead to social upheaval.[21] When they recognized their inability to stem the tide they then turned their efforts to moulding the new state constitutions in such a way that the former arisocratic control of government would be maintained. In this they were nearly everywhere successful mainly because they were able to bring a large majority of the radicals over to their point of view. This was not difficult because most of the radicals —at least in the South—were fellow aristocrats with the conservatives. When Tom Paine's *Common Sense* appeared with its identification of liberty and democracy, the two groups found they had much more in common than they expected. Both opposed any levelling movement.

The action of John Adams is a case in point. Completely uncompromising in his devotion to independence, he should have danced for joy at the appearance of *Common Sense*. Instead he had only a few words of commendation for Paine's treatment of

[19] Hayes Collection, N. C. Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[20] *C. R.*, X, 504.
[21] See Merrill Jensen, *The Articles of Confederation*, 13, 14.

the "Royal brute" and confined himself to bitter denunciation of Paine's plan of government with its unicameral legislature and universal suffrage.[22] To prevent the spread of the poison of democracy he wrote his famous pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government,* which was to have such an important effect on the constitutions of North Carolina and Virginia. In effect Adams recommended reproducing the colonial governments, but with one change: the legislature and not the governor was to hold the balance of power. Large property owners, represented in an upper house, were to have a veto on all legislation by the people's representatives in a lower house. The governor as general arbiter was to have a second veto. The plan was designed primarily to maintain the existing social and political status quo.

Both Paine's and Adams's pamphlets had arrived in North Carolina by theh time the Halifax convention met in April, 1776. Hewes and Hooper, North Carolina delegates to Congress in Philadelphia, had recognized the danger of *Common Sense* when it appeared and had decided not to send copies home. But "finding brother [John] Penn had a fondness" for Paine they reluctantly forwarded a few.[23] Penn and Hooper had solicited and received copies of *Thoughts on Government* from Adams.[24]

But there was another situation besides conflicting theories of government that might be expected to cause dissension at Halifax. Two members of the drafting committee, Burke and Person, represented frontier communities that had been the heart of the Regulator movement. The others on the committee were tidewater aristocrats. The battle of Alamance had by no means written an end to the Regulators. Sheriffs and tax collectors were still occasionally beaten up after 1771. Maurice Moore and Abner Nash on a secret visit in 1772 to James Hunter, the outlawed Regulator leader, urged him to use his influence to calm the country. But they failed. "I think they are more afraid than ever," Hunter wrote grimly to two other Regulator leaders exiled in Maryland, William Butler and Hermon Husband.[25] Johnston hesitated to call a Provincial congress in the summer

[22] Dubbing Paine a "disastrous meteor," he commented: "I dreaded the effect so popular a pamphlet might have among the people and determined to do all in my power to counteract the effect of it." C. F. Adams (ed.), *The Works of John Adams,* II, 507.

[23] Hewes to Johnston, Feb. 20, 1776, N. C. Letters from the Emmett Collection, N. Y. Public Library. Copies in N. C. Department of Archives and History.

[24] *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 230.

[25] Hunter to Butler Nov. 6, 1772, Regulator Papers, Southern Hist. Coll.

of 1775 because he had heard a rumor that Hunter was planning to march with 1000 men on any meeting.[26] The danger was apparently ended, however, after Johnston personally had a meeting with some of the former Regulators and was assured that they would not be hostile.[27] This turned out to be the case. There were relatively few Regulators in the battle of Moore's Creek.

Nevertheless, the Regulator demands for salaried judges, lower court fees, religious freedom, and an end to the domination of the assembly by lawyers and tidewater aristocrats had never been met. It may be assumed that when it came to writing a constitution, Thomas Burke, representative for Orange, a self-made man and an outstanding radical, and Thomas Person, a former Regulator and representative of Granville, would clash with Johnston, Harnett, and Allen Jones, all of the tidewater.

And clash they did. "We are going to the devil without knowing how to help ourselves," wrote Johnston to Iredell from the Halifax Congress.[28] The conflict was between those who favored a representative government which would be immediately responsive to the people's will and those who favored checks and balances that would maintain the status quo. The radicals pushed through a resolution "to establish a purely democratic form of government" and drafted an instrument to implement it.[29] Burke was one of the authors of the original democratic draft. "Nash and Burke are framing a Constitution for this colony to preserve it from total anarchy," wrote Hooper to Hewes on April 17. "They differ very materially in their ideas from Mr. Johnston, Penn, or myself." [30] Hooper then went on to voice his doubts as to whether it was wise even to attempt to draft a constitution at that crucial time, an idea that Johnston had previously put forth. But this was undoubtedly only an expedient whereby the conservatives could kill Burke's and Nash's draft by having the whole project of a constitution dropped.[31] Their view prevailed. The committee was discharged and a new committee was

[26] Johnston to Iredell Aug. 14, 1775, Chas. E. Johnston Coll., N. C. Dept. of Archives and History. See also Johnston to Hewes June 27, 1775, Hayes Coll.
[27] Details of the meeting are in a badly mutilated manuscript in Johnston's handwriting dated 1775, Chas. E. Johnston Collection.
[28] April 4, 1776, Hayes Coll.
[29] See letters from Johnston to Iredell in G. J. McRee, *James Iredell*, I, 276, 277. Also J. S. Jones, *A Defense of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina*, 278.
[30] Hooper to Hewes, Apr. 17, Hayes Collection.
[31] See Jones, *Defense*, 281.

formed to draft "a temporary form of government." [32] It drew up a plan continuing the existing temporary executive system with a few changes in favor of efficiency. Both Burke and Nash were on this committee. Person and Johnston were dropped, possibly because they were irreconcilable.

During the summer interest in the plan for a constitution heightened and the split between factions became wider. The Council of Safety, as a gesture to strict constitutional procedure, recommended to the people that they "pay the greatest attention to the election for the Congress to be held at Halifax in November 1776," because the delegates would not only be legislators but would write a permanent constitution.

Meanwhile the North Carolina delegates to Congress—Hooper, Hewes, and Penn—were observing Pennsylvania form her constitution. The process was not reassuring. Because of unique conditions within the state political power had passed from an ultra-conservative to an ultra-radical group. The latter, under the leadership of James Cannon, a mathematics teacher, Timothy Matlack, a lower-class agitator, and the astronomer David Rittenhouse, had imposed a constitution on the state that was probably as democratic as any of the forty-eight states has ever had. Its central feature was the unicameral legislature. Naturally this constitution was the execration of nearly all Whigs. By their reaction to it they showed their basic conservative leanings. Hooper was one of the most outspoken of these. "You have seen the constitution of Pennsylvania," he wrote to Johnston in September,—"the motley mixture of limited monarchy and an execrable democracy—a beast without a head. The mob made a second branch of the legislature. Laws subjected to their revisal in order to refine them. A washing in ordure by way of purification. Taverns and dram shops are the councils to which the laws of this state are referred for approbation before they possess a binding influence." Then, summing up his own philosophy, he said, "Were I to choose a motto for a modern Whig—it should be—'Whatever is, is right.' " [33]

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[32] *C. R.*, X, 552.

[33] *C. R.*, X, 819, 820. The "washing in ordure" to which Hooper referred was the provision in the Pennsylvania constitution that all legislation after passage must be published to the people at large before it could become law.

In a later letter addressed to the Halifax Congress, October 26, he detailed his recommendations for a constitution. Declaring the British constitution to be the nearest thing to political perfection in an imperfect world, he warned against violent change. Stick to the accepted traditions, he advised. Above all observe the principle of balance of power. Provide for a two-house legislature where property, "which gives independence and impartiality to the human mind," can check the excesses of the people. Hooper then recommended the new constitutions of Delaware, South Carolina, and New Jersey as examples to follow.[34] These were all instruments drafted quickly by aristocratically controlled legislatures and combined bicameralism, relatively high suffrage qualifications, and very high property qualifications for office. They were of course never submitted to popular ratification.

Hooper's ideas are probably a good representation of the conservative point of view. The best example of the radicals' ideas are the Orange County instructions to the convention delegates drafted by Burke. The mere fact that instructions were given is in itself significant. Although the practice had been strictly followed in the New England colonies and in Pennsylvania since earliest colonial times, there are few, if any, instances of it in North Carolina. Here assemblymen, after election, were free agents. This was one of the loudest complaints of Hermon Husband, Burke's sometime predecessor from Orange. Husband tried to point out to the exploited people of the piedmont that it was no use petitioning for redress of grievances. They should control their representatives and force recognition of their claims. This was the point of his bitterly satirical "Sermon to Asses." [35] Over the years Husband's message must have taken effect, for the Orange instructions reflect the determination of the people to make their representatives realize that they were the people's servants. The first section of the instructions was thus devoted to making the relationship of people and government crystal clear.

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[34] *C. R.*, X, 866-869. Hooper wrote in the same vein to Johnston the next day. "The Pennsylvania constitution," he declared significantly, "has made more tories than the whole treasury of Britain." Hayes Collection. He held high hopes that it would be repudiated by the people of Pennsylvania. When efforts of the conservatives there failed, he was gloomy. "If Matlack's system prevails, farewell to this country," he wrote Hewes on November 1. Hayes Collection.

[35] W. K. Boyd (ed.), *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina*, 325-331. See also, "Address to the Inhabitants," Boyd, *Eighteenth Century Tracts*, 301-304.

The specific demands were not so radical as one might expect—a bicameral legislature, freedom of religion, and ratification of the completed instrument by the people. Suffrage qualifications were limited to freehold for the upper house, household for the lower house. Nothing was said of property qualifications for office.[36]

If Burke did not dictate these instructions, it may safely be said that they conformed to his opinions. The only known copy was in his own handwriting.[37] From the evidence available it appears that he was the nominee of the radical group in Orange. This election, like many others throughout the state, was extremely disorderly. Because of the commotion the polls were closed at sundown of the first day, whereas usually two days were allowed for voting. A group under the leadership of John Butler—brother of William Butler, the escaped Regulator—petitioned the Congress later for a new election. The committee appointed to investigate recommended rejection of the request.[38] The Congress agreed, but a few days later rescinded its resolve and called a new election, with householders as well as freeholders voting. The county returned nearly a whole new slate, including Burke and Butler.[39]

Burke's arrival was probably welcome to the Congress, for he was immediately assigned to important committees.[40] But he was not a member of the committee which drafted the constitution and bill of rights. The instruments were passed on December 18, two days after his arrival.[41] Nevertheless he must have been in attendance on the Congress for a considerable time previously, for some of his contemporaries bear witness to his influence. Samuel Johnston, taking a dim view of the new state legislature in a letter to Burke June 26, 1777, speaks of the constitution as "your plan."[42] A county was named in Burke's honor, apparently because of his efforts in the Congress.[43]

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[36] *C. R.*, X, 870f-870h.
[37] This copy was apparently destroyed or lost after publication of *The Colonial Records*. There is no trace of it in Burke's personal papers. It may have been included in the Legislative Papers, N. C. Departmeint of Archives and History. All of these records for 1776 have been lost. *C. R.*, X, 870f.
[38] *C. R.*, X, 932, 933.
[39] *C. R.*, X, 970.
[40] *C. R.*, X, 973.
[41] *C. R.*, X, 974.
[42] *S. R.*, XI, 504.
[43] Abner Nash wrote on April 19: "Our Assembly have paid a compliment to our worthy Delegate Dr. Burke, which no private man has experienced before. A new county taken from Surry is called after him." *S. R.*, XI, 453.

Yet the constitution was not the work of any one man. It bears all the marks of compromise, even though most of the concessions came from the radicals.[44] In the words of Dr. R. D. W. Connor, who has made the best summary of its formation and given the fairest judgment of it, ". . . the government established by the Constitution of 1776 was a representative democracy in form, but in form only."[45]

Perhaps Burke was disappointed in the constitution. He should have been, for the final instrument certainly did not correspond to the government his instructions called for. The suffrage qualification for the upper house was higher, there were property qualifications for office, and the instrument was never submitted for popular ratification. The constitution was designed by the members of the colonial aristocracy to solidify them in the enjoyment of the sovereignty they had wrested from Great Britain, to protect large aggregations of property from "levelling" movements, and in general to maintain the social *status quo*. Nevertheless the politically unprivileged had made a significant gain. The constitution declared in the language of the Orange instructions that all governmental power was derived from the people as a whole and that political rulers were servants of the people.

This principle was to be honored more in the breach than in the observance for many years to come. The people reigned, but they did not rule. But the mere fact that the principle had general acceptance meant that the days of aristocratic control of government were numbered.

There are indications that Burke rationalized the shortcomings of the constitution on the grounds that it was temporary and that a new instrument could be drafted in an atmosphere of calm and reflection after the war.[46] If so the rationalization suggests that Burke was losing conviction in the ideals expressed by the Orange instructions. In 1777 he would probably not have been aware of it himself, but the coming years which were to bring

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[44] "The Constitution was not the work of any one man or group of men, though tradition and an occasional reference in contemporary documents attribute a few features to certain individuals." *History of North Carolina*, I (by R. D. W. Connor), 415.

[45] *History of North Carolina*, I, 417.

[46] "I am perfectly of your opinion," wrote Johnston to Burke, April 19, 1777, "that the only object of importance at present is the defense of our country. Until that is effectually secured, leagues, Confederacies, and Constitutions are premature, except as temporary expedients." *S. R.*, XI, 453, 454.

with them bitter political quarrels and personal animosities in the Continental Congress, anarchy and carnage in the state during his governorship, and a growing sense of frustration and persecution, were to turn him into a hopeless reactionary.

Burke was elected to the Continental Congress at the Halifax meeting. He arrived in Philadelphia on February 4 and was immediately precipitated into many vexing problems affecting the states. All were connected with the pressing question—what was the status of Congress? What powers did it have? What powers should it have? It was evident that Congress was not a sovereign body, in spite of efforts of some conservatives to give it sovereign power. But the line between state powers and congressional power had never been clearly defined. Burke was the first to provide a fully formulated distinction. It was simple and unequivocal. All sovereignty lay in the states. Congress neither had nor should have any powers over the states. Congress was only a meeting of diplomatic representatives to provide for temporary exigencies, such as common defense in war.

In a sense this view of the relations between the states and Congress was concomitant with Burke's democracy. Merrill Jensen has pointed out that most of the violent whigs in the years before the Revolution were inclined to have liberal views on formation of state constitutions and to suspect any centralizing movements that infringed on state sovereignty.[47] There were several reasons for this. In the first place, any centralization of power suggested the British empire. Although the Revolutionary patriots to a large extent reproduced the British government inside the states by creating omnipotent, aristocratically controlled legislatures resting on limited suffrage and unequal representation, nevertheless they completely repudiated all methods of imperial control. Political theory and historical experience seemed to prove conclusively that any centralization of power inevitably became tyranny. Machiavelli and Bodin had discovered that the essential qualification of a state was sovereignty. Hobbes had proved deductively that the sovereign state must, by definition, be a despotism. To the colonists, eight-

[47] Jensen, *Articles of Confederation*, 15, 16. This theory has value but is severly qualified by numerous individual exceptions to the rule. For instance, William Hooper, John Adams, James Wilson, Robert C. Nicholas, and Alexander Hamilton were all leading whigs, yet all were conservative as regards theory of government. Instances could be multiplied.

eenth century England, although technically a limited monarchy, was actually a despotism under the heel of a corporate body no less tyrannical than a single dictator.

Most of the members of the Continental Congress were well versed in history and philosophy, and they had had bitter experience with the British conception of empire. Hence it is easy to see why they were so fearful of giving powers to Congress that might approach sovereignty. Of what use to fight the British if they with their own hands created a new tyranny just as vicious? A federal state with a sovereignty of divided powers was a new, untried conception. Experience and history seemed to prove that it must inevitably resolve into a tyrannous national state. In the words of Burke, "power breeds power."

Hence it was entirely consistent in Burke, and a proof of his democratic ideas, that he immediately opposed any move to give effective powers to Congress. With almost pathological intensity he examined even the most routine questions under consideration to ferret out any qualification of state sovereignity. Thus on February 7, 1777, three days after his arrival, he spoke strongly against a resolution which would fix the size of state delegations. The purpose was to increase the membership of the delegations, thereby insuring quorums at the sessions and rendering the duties of individual members less arduous.[48] But Burke objected. "This is a matter each state has an exclusive right to judge of," he asserted.[49] The measure was defeated. A few days later in the matter of Congressional approval for an impromptu meeting of the New England states he declared himself even more positively. The states had come together without notification to Congress to discuss methods of combating inflation. Was this an invasion of the realm of Congressional authority? The consensus of opinion was that Congress had a right to inquire into the causes of such meetings and to be informed on proceedings. And since everyone was in favor of combating inflation it was thought that a program might be started and Congressional authority asserted at the same time by a resolution to approve the New England meeting. At this Burke was on his feet. Referring to North Carolina's right to join in any meeting or combination she

[48] For a description of the tremendous load of work on Congressmen, see John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom*, 433-435.
[49] E. C. Burnett (ed), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II, 239.

pleased, he declared the state "could do everything which she had not precluded herself from by plain and express declaration: to yield up any of her rights was not in his power and very far from his inclinations. . . ."[50] And then he asserted for his own state the power contended for by Congress in terms which showed unmistakably his convictions on state sovereignty. North Carolina, "by the Law of Nations had a right to demand a satisfactory account of any transaction by one or more of our states," he declared. The question was finally settled by a resolution which approved the measures of the New England meeting but did not refer to any power of Congress to approve or disapprove of such meetings.[51]

In two military matters that came up in this period Burke sensed danger to state sovereignty. The question had long been debated as to whether general officers should be named by Washington or appointed by Congress. Many members, foreseeing the danger of military dictatorship, strenuously urged that the power of appointment be kept by Congress.[52] Burke, as a good democrat, was ever on guard against increasing the power of the military, but congressional appointment of officers over the North Carolina line in the Continental army was incompatible with state sovereignty. Thus he was in a deliemma. But he extricated himself neatly by proposing and carrying a resolution that officers be secured by promotion, the criteria to be seniority, quota, and merit.[53] Appointments were to be signed by Congress, but in theory candidates were to be qualified for positions automatically. The element of "choice" by Congress was minimized.

A second military question which involved state sovereignty arose. Did the Continental army or the several states have jurisdiction over deserters? A committee charged with bringing in a report on the matter recommended an eventual system providing for a civil trial by the state in which deserters were found. But for the time being the committee suggested that they be handed over to the military.[54] The report was adopted by Congress without objection, but when Burke be-

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[50] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 249.
[51] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 253. W. C. Ford (ed), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII, 124.
[52] E. C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress*, 268, 269.
[53] *S. R.*, XI, 381; *Journals*, VII, 131, 132.
[54] *Journals*, VII, 115-118.

came aware of the implications of the clause providing for temporary jurisdiction over deserters by the army he insisted on reopening the question and demanded that his objection be placed on the journals. He became involved in a lengthy debate with James Wilson of Pennsylvania which well illustrates the democratic fear that centralized control was as much to be feared as a British victory. All individuals were under the protection of the laws of the states in which they found themselves, Burke asserted. If the army could seize and try deserters wherever it found them, constitutions and bills of rights were "meer waste paper." Moreover, if Congress could decide on the question one way or the other, then "Congress has power unlimited over the lives and liberties of all men in America." The majority of Congress, however, agreed with Wilson that the measure was one of necessity, and so the resolution remained unchanged.[55]

Burke now began to be more often in a minority on points at issue. So the problem presented itself: to what extent are majority decisions binding? When an attempt was made to change a rule which permitted any one state to postpone a vote, Burke again smelled tyranny. He maintained that even a majority of Congress could not change rules. They were higher law, a constitution in themselves. He supported his case with the reasoning that the rules had been adopted by "common consent," and so could only be altered by a unanimous vote.[56] Warming to his subject he declared that if a majority of Congress could change the rules it could also declare three or four states a quorum, or change voting procedures.[57] He clearly saw that the majority, as opposed to the minority, could be as arbitrary as an absolute despot. But he offered no solution of the eternal problem of majority rule *vs.* minority rights other than to deny the former in favor of the latter.

After his first contentious month in Congress, Burke felt the need for some instrument that would accurately define the powers of Congress. "Power of all kinds has an irresistible pro-

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[55] *Journals*, VII, 154, 155.

[56] The term "common consent" in the eighteenth century lent itself to ambiguity. Did it mean that every issue determined by a public body must be agreed to by every member, or did it denote an original consent to be bound by the will of the majority? When speaking of the rights of their legislatures against Parliament, the colonists adopted the former interpretation, but in regard to their own internal legislation they obviously had to practice the latter.

[57] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 283.

pensity to increase a desire for itself," he wrote Governor Caswell. "It gives the passion of ambition a velocity which increases in its progress: and this is a passion that grows as it is gratified."[58] He suspected that the northern states might be harboring designs against the southern states. He foresaw the possibility of Civil War. Local jealousies would always prevent America from uniting. "Patriotism in America must always be partial to the particular states. Patriotism to the whole will never be cherished or regarded . . . ," he prophesied. Congress, in his eyes, should never be more than a body to provide common defense in time of war. In peacetime it must necessaily become the instrument whereby the strong oppressed the weak.

Burke had his wish that a plan be completed to define the boundaries between state and congressional authority. In April, 1777, Congress resumed discussion of the Dickinson draft of the Articles of Confederation, which was the report of a committee appointed June 12, 1776, to form a plan of union. The committee was heavily loaded with conservatives, among them Joheph Hewes. Dickinson himself, an ardent whig in the 1760's and author of the much praised *Farmer's Letters,* had been overpassed by the Revolution. As the breaking point with Britain came nearer he became more and more afraid that political and military revolution would presage a social revolution. Hence he became the leader of the forces of reconciliation. He considered the Declaration of Independence a fatal error. Then before his eyes the worst happened, in the form of the Pennsylvania constitution. Convinced that the trend toward democracy must be stopped if there was to be any security for property, he embodied in his draft of the Articles of Confederation—in disguised form, to be sure—potential powers which might be used by a strong central authority to create a national government capable of exercising restraint directly over individuals in the states.

"The Dickinson draft," says Merrill Jensen, "while by no means as explicit as the Constitution of 1787, made the constitution of the central government the standard by which the rights, powers, and duties of states were to be measured. Congress was

[58] *S. R.*, XI, 418.

theoretically, if not practically, the supreme authority."[59] The states were given powers, but in every case it was stipulated that these powers must not conflict with those of the central government. There were only two substantial guarantees of states' rights; first, each state was entitled to enjoy as many of its present laws as it saw fit; second, the regulation of internal police was to be the exclusive province of each state. Yet even these guarantees held implicit reservations which could render them nugatory. It was not stated that the states would be permitted future enjoyment of their laws, and as for the regulation of internal police, no measures could be taken which would interfere with the operation of the Articles.

In the months succeeding the Dickinson report Congress wrangled over the immediate issues it raised: the basis of representation and contributions by the states, and the distribution of western lands. But it remained for Burke to go to the vital issue. The third article, he said, which reserved to the states only the power of control over their own police, consequently resigned every other power. "It appeared to me that this was not what the states expected, and, I thought, it left it in the power of the future Congress or general Council to explain away every right belonging to the states and to make their power as unlimited as they please."[60] So he submitted an amendment which became the second article of the final instrument and was the decisive declaration of state sovereignty: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united states in Congress assembled."[61]

But even with this declaration of principle the Articles were not satisfactory to Burke. In May he wrote Governor Caswell that it was almost impossible to reconcile state sovereignty with the large state demands for representation in accordance with population and wealth. "It is far from improbable," he wrote, "that the only Confederation will be a defensive alliance."[62] As a solution to the problem of representation he devised a scheme for a bicameral national legislature which would have been much

[59] Jensen, *Articles of Confederation*, 130.
[60] *S. R.*, XI, 461.
[61] *Journals*, IX, 908.
[62] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 371.

like the present Senate and House of Representatives. The fact that the lower house voted by voice, and not by states, was a significant concession. But the plan was rejected quickly by Congress.[63]

The Articles were cast in final form on November 15, 1777. Burke, who had left Congress for North Carolina in October, brought all his influence to bear against ratification. He wrote Governor Caswell that the Articles were entirely unsuited to the states and voiced deep suspicion of all who urged their acceptance.[64] In a document dated November 15 he specified his objection to some of the individual provisions.[65] Just as the Dickinson draft gave no absolute power to the states, so Burke would give no exclusive power to Congress. In general, Congress should handle foreign affairs and limit its positive actions to declarations of war or peace. But the states had the parallel power of sending ambassadors and making treaties. Moreover, any one state could stay neutral in the event of a declaration of war. Any confederation, in Burke's eyes, should be no more than a loose, defensive alliance behind a facade of unity erected purely to impress foreign powers. The Articles were a dangerous, unnecessary "Chimerical project."

His criticisms undoubtedly made a deep impression on the Assembly. When the Articles arrived for ratification Burke was placed on a committee to report on them.[66] None of the other delegates to Congress, Harnett, Penn, or Hooper, had shown convictions one way or the other on the matters of basic principle that seemed so important to Burke. Hence the committee followed his advice almost to the letter and recommended only seven of the thirteen articles for ratification.[67] Their only deviation was in their belief that the final instrument, when ratified, should be permanent and binding. The Assembly followed the report and gave the suggested partial ratification.

Although Burke's campaign against the Articles had been quite a triumph and had undoubtedly raised his political prestige

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[63] *Journals*, VII, 328, 329. Burke's faith in bicameralism had grown since the time of the Orange instructions. In March he defended the principle vigorously in a letter to Caswell. *S. R.*, XI, 422.
[64] *S. R.*, XI, 669.
[65] Burnett, *Letters* II, 552-566.
[66] *S. R.*, XII, 401. On his return to North Carolina Burke had been elected to the Assembly from Orange. *S. R.*, XII, 317.
[67] *S. R.*, XII, 411.

at home, his aggressiveness and irascibility had made him many enemies in Congress. New members of legislative bodies are supposed to mind their manners and not speak unless spoken to—at least for a while. Moreover it is the course of prudence for them to show respect for their elders. Yet young Thomas Burke, hardly turned thirty and sometimes painfully aware that he was Mr. North Carolina, was assertive from the moment of his arrival and sometimes showed a tendency to take a reversal as a personal affront. In the debate over the question of congressional power to increase the size of state delegations, he chose to consider the move as a slighting reference to his own ability since he was the only North Carolina delegate in Congress at the time. In a speech in which he deprecated his abilities in an exaggerated, ironical manner implying superiority, he declared that "he considered the amendment as implying a Censure on his country and he must therefore protest against it." The other delegates, probably much surprised, hastily disclaimed any intention to censure.[68] A few weeks later he lectured the Congress on the art of polite expression. Apparently some very salty language had been used in a committee report on alleged British outrages. Although the volatile Richard Henry Lee urged that the language was appropriate "because it expressed only what our enemies really are," Burke replied that "simplicity of style was true beauty, and dignity in the language of public bodies." "Embellishments of splendid epithets and figures," he declared, warming to his subject, "were only for rhetoricians and such as write for amusement." Continuing a report of his speech in the third person, he observed, "he could wish that our Energy might appear in our Actions and that our Language might be simple and unadorned. He admired the Peasants of Switzerland who in their struggles for Freedom were as remarkable for Modesty in their Language as Vigor in their Exertions, and Congress might imitate them in both."[69]

A few months later Burke himself became the most flagrant violator of his own lofty sentiments. In April, 1778, his continued insistence on absolute state sovereignty led him into what many members considered a sovereign contempt of Congress.

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[68] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 239.
[69] Burnett, *Letters*, II 265, 266.

There had been an acrimonious debate on the ninth and tenth over the wording of a letter to be sent to Washington. The general had been negotiating with Howe for an exchange of prisoners and had agreed that armed loyalists were to be given belligerent status. When many members objected that armed loyalists were traitors and should be prosecuted as such by state courts, Washington rejoined that it would be better "to let the laws sleep." Using this statement as a springboard, a group hostile to the general drew up an insulting letter of remonstrance.[70]

Although Burke was in entire agreement that armed loyalists should be subject to prosecution for treason, he disapproved the obvious intent to insult Washington. On the evening of the tenth, while the debate was at its height, he walked out of the Congress and broke the quorum. Later he stated that he was too ill to attend further, but more likely he made the move purposely to postpone the question by forcing an adjournment. Henry Laurens, the president, sent a messenger after him to require his attendance. Burke, logically maintaining that there could be no Congress without him and that the message was therefore unofficial, replied, "Devil take him if he would come. . . ." [71] Faced with this impertinence, Congress decided to teach Burke a lesson. The incident, and his words, were spread on the journal. When Burke learned of this next morning he declared with gusto "that he would not submit to the tyranny of a majority of Congress." He would attend at times he thought reasonable, but would not attend at times he thought unreasonable.[72] But he did not realize the extent of the annoyance of Congress. Member after member denounced him as guilty of contempt. When Burke rose to reply he was considerably chastened. He acknowledged that Congress had a power to enforce the attendance of its members and that his refusal to attend was a breach of order, thus admitting that his status was something less than that of a diplomatic representative. Nevertheless he declared that "any undue or unreasonable exercise of any power, tho' lawful power, is Tyrannical, and no freeman is bound to submit to it." This he held to be "the Grand

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[70] Burnett, *Letters*, III, x, 160, 161; Burnett, *Continental Congress*, 303.
[71] *Journals*, X, 334.
[72] *Journals*, X, 336.

Principle of Whiggism." [73] The matter might have rested here, but on the twenty-fourth Burke moved to have his defense entered in the journal. The request was refused. His enemies now referred the whole matter to a committee, and a full investigation ensued.[74] The result was a severe rebuke to Burke. His action was declared in a resolution to be "disorderly and contemptuous" and a blow at the very existence of the house. Moreover, a copy of the resolve and all documents on the case were ordered to be sent to the Assembly of North Carolina.[75] Burke's only recourse was to write a long letter to Governor Caswell by way of justification.[76]

Burke's statement that no free man is bound to submit to "unreasonable" exercise of lawful power represents the fulfillment of his democratic thinking. The fact that any such criterion of judgment was bound to be subjective and would lead to anarchy was of course outside the comprehension of an age that believed reason to be a virtual body of law so clear that no divergencies of interpretation could occur. The fact that the principle when transferred to any federal union of states meant nullification and disruption of the union would have been regarded by Burke with indifference.

Burke emerged from this fracas with an intense antipathy for Henry Laurens, president of Congress. Even though a South Carolinian, Laurens had made no move to defend him.[77] A year later Burke got his revenge. When Laurens sided with John Adams in insisting on fishing rights in the North Atlantic as *sine qua non* of peace with Britain, Burke advertised his disregard of southern interests to the Assembly of North Carolina and threatened to have North Carolina troops withdrawn from the defense of South Carolina. Laurens came to heel and no longer supported the demand for fisheries. It was a complete turnabout. This time Laurens, not Burke, was compelled to justify himself to Caswell.[78]

Another bitter quarrel took place with General John Sullivan. Burke had been present at Brandywine and had become con-

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[73] *Journals*, X, 340.
[74] *Journals*, X, 386, 389.
[75] *Journals*, X, 390, 391.
[76] *S. R.*, XIV, 403-407, 87-89.
[77] Before he started for home, Burke wrote a rather humble letter to Laurens. Burnett, *Letters*, III, 193, 194. Laurens' reply was cold and indifferent. Burnett, *Letters*, III, 206.
[78] The series of letters covering the controversy appear in Burnett, *Letters*, IV, 129-149.

vinced of Sullivan's incompetence. Accordingly he made strenuous efforts in Congress to have him removed from his command. Sullivan, on the other hand, represented himself to Congress as the victim of a smear campaign on the part of Burke. Thereupon Burke wrote him a letter which can scarcely be equalled for sheer effrontery. With icy contempt he accused him of complete, blundering incompetence.[79] Before the matter could come to a duel, Sullivan was ordered to Rhode Island. He conducted a campaign there with skill and later won signal victories in western Pennsylvania. Then he hurled back Burke's charges. Deprived of any effective answer, Burke chose to duel rather than apologize. But apparently the two never had an encounter.[80]

As a concomitant to his suspicion of any effective union of the states, Burke had undeviatingly supported sectional legislation. Although he recognized the weaknesses of paper money in financing the war, he was unalterably opposed to the issuance of loan office certificates believing that these, bearing interest, would be bought up by northern speculators and would constitute a continuing tax on the South.[81] He tried to wean Virginia away from any close relations with the northern states.[82] He was adamant in opposing the New England move to demand the North Atlantic fisheries as a condition for peace.[83] Although he was not willing to prolong the war to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi, nevertheless he favored making a demand for it from Spain.[84]

But by 1779 his views had begun to change. The war was moving toward the South. The safety of North Carolina demanded a union which would be effective enough to force northern aid. Burke gradually ceased to test all measures of Congress by the criterion of state sovereignty and began to think more in terms of national power. This change in his ideas illustrates the fact that the doctrine of states' rights is not so much a creed as a policy which has been adopted or rejected by American sections in various periods of American history to attain specific political and economic objectives. Early in the

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[79] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 519.
[80] For a full account of the matter see *Journals*, VIII, 742, 749; Burnett, *Letters*, II, 496, 515, 519-520, 530; *S. R.*, XV, 83-86, 86-89.
[81] Burnett, *Letters*, II, 240-242, 246-249.
[82] *S. R.*, XI, 391.
[83] The best summary of this struggle is in Burnett's prefatory notes to *Letters*, IV, xviii-xxvi.
[84] *Journals*, XIX, 153, 154.

Revolution, when the fighting was taking place chiefly in Massachusetts and New York, the northern states were strong for national unity and the South championed state sovereignty. But when the war moved into Virginia and the Carolinas the situation was reversed.

Thus as early as 1778 Burke favored the creation of a permanent officer corps which would guarantee the effectiveness of a national army. He admitted that the existence of such a force would make some kind of permanent union necessary.[85] Most revealing is his attitude toward the idea of a partial confederacy which had been advocated by some of the states when Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation.[86] "For every purpose of common defense and common exertions in the progress of the present war and for the conclusion thereof the states are united by former acts of the several states," he wrote to the Assembly in October, 1779. Any move for a partial confederacy might promote disunion. He viewed with alarm the fact that five states could veto a peace treaty. This was an unexpected interpretation of the Articles of Confederation by one who had maintained only a few years before than any permanent union was a "Chimerical project" and who had argued for the right of any individual to judge the reasonableness of any act of power. It was a little inconsistent of the man who had declared that there could never be a national patriotism in 1777 to speak of "the old union" in 1779.[87]

But in 1780 Burke went even further in the attempt to give the central government power over the states. He introduced a resolution on March 18 "That the states be requested to pass laws enabling Congress to levy an impost of one percent on all exports and imports" to carry on the war and support the currency. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated by a solid block of northern states. But the next year he and John Witherspoon of New Jersey succeeded in effecting the passage of a resolution urging the states to grant Congress the power of levying a five percent duty on imports.[88] Favoring a national tariff would have been unthinkable to Burke a few years previously.

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[85] Burnett, *Letters*, III, 161, 162, 163.
[86] For details see Burnett, *Continental Congress*, 494.
[87] *S. R.*, XIV, 350.
[88] *Journals*, XVI, 261; XIX, 112.

There are indications that Burke's democratic ideas on internal policy in his own state were changing also. During short periods of his congressional career when he was in North Carolina, Burke often occupied a seat in the Assembly. He introduced a good bit of legislation, all of it to strengthen the executive. Thus in December, 1777, he presented a bill to empower the governor to send the militia out of the state.[89] He had favored court reforms which would bring officials more under the control of the governor, and he advocated higher taxation. Moreover, he voted for an act validating the claims of speculative land companies to the western domain. The objections of Thomas Person, who led the forces against this act, show a widening gap between the two men. "Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free State," are Person's words as written in the journal, "and the granting thereof is a direct violation of our Constitution. . . ." Moreover, ". . . the property of the soil in a free state is one of the essential rights of the collective body of the people." [90] These are words which might have been written by Burke himself in 1776, but now they were written by an opponent.

As Burke approached the last period of his life, as governor of the state, he was showing more of the qualities of a good executive—an ability for organization to meet specific problems, steadfastness in the face of opposition, and the ability to command. But he was definitely losing the strain of democratic idealism illustrated by the Orange instructions of 1776.

When Burke came into office as the third governor of North Carolina, June 25, 1781, the state was in anarchy. Shortly after the battle of Guildford Courthouse, Green had gone south to besiege Charleston and Cornwallis had moved into Virginia. In their wake both armies left partisan bands that ravaged the country. "During this period," says Connor, "North Carolina was the victim of a carnival of pillage, rapine and murder that surpasses that of the era of Reconstruction." [91] Governor Nelson of Virginia, in congratulating Burke upon his election, declared that any man who could bring order out of the chaos of North

[89] *S. R.*, XII, 347.
[90] *S. R.*, XII, 409.
[91] *History of North Carolina*, I, 487.

Carolina would be "Magnus Apollo."[92] Nelson's statement was hardly an exaggeration.

The preceding Assembly had done away with the Board of War, a committee that made all military decisions, and had given almost dictatorial powers to the governor acting with a "Council Extrordinary" of three.[93] In his inaugural message, Burke called for a stiffer militia law that would make every able-bodied man subject to draft, more efficient supply service, and better tax collection. Disparaging the value of militia, he advised the establishment of a permanent officer force similar to the national cadre he had advocated in Congress. As for the loyalists, the best policy would be "to reclaim all who are reclaimable of our ill-advised and deluded citizens and expel the incorrigible by force of arms." He advocated a protective tariff, even though he admitted this was a "delicate subject." [94]

The Assembly quickly passed legislation covering all of his recommendations except those that referred to long-range policy. The session was short, for it was evident the members wanted to get home to their families.[95]

After the dissolution July 14, Burke put his wide powers into operation. His first problem was the armed loyalists. The state government from the beginning of the war had adopted the theory that they were traitors subject to criminal process.[96] Burke shared this view, along with most other whig statesmen of the period. Under the authority of the Assembly's latest enactment he proposed that all loyalists be required to go to various predetermined centers and take an oath of allegiance. Those who refused would be subject to expulsion and confiscation of their property and would be treated as enemies. Leaders of armed bands and those guilty of violent actions against the state would be subject to criminal process. Special courts of oyer and terminer would be set up to try these cases.[97]

In setting up these courts, Burke, on his own authority, nullified an act of the Assembly on what he believed to be constitutional grounds. The incident is important as an early exam-

[92] *S. R.*, XV, 577.
[93] *S. R.*, XXIV, 378.
[94] *S. R.*, XVII, 910-913.
[95] See *S. R.*, XXIV, 384-387, 390-398, 404-405.
[96] For a good discussion of loyalist legislation see R. O. De Mond, *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution*, chapter VII.
[97] *S. R.*, XIX, 862.

ple of constitutional review. The act gave these courts life and death power. No appeal was provided for. "This will be a precedent for erecting courts of justice, the judges of which must be entirely dependent on the legislature," he informed his council. "Should the legislature ever become so corrupt and wicked as to erect them, civil liberty will be deprived of its surest defenses against the most dangerous usurpations." Since the governor nominated the judges, Burke went on, he and the judges acting in collusion could proscribe at will. Thus the courts, armed with the power of life and death, in effect became supreme although dependent on the executive. Burke felt that the bill was dangerous and unconstitutional. It was beyond the power of any legislature to create a supreme power. Repeating the fear so often voiced by revolutionary leaders, he declared, "nothing can at any time hinder the Assembly from voting itself perpetual" if it assumes such a power, "and making it high treason to dispute such usurped authority." [98] Therefore he recommended ignoring the law and setting up courts under an earlier law of 1777.

It is evident that Burke's reasoning is contradictory. In one breath he declares the courts unconstitutional because they are dependent on the other two branches of the government, thus destroying the principle of balance of power written into the constitution. In the next he condemns them because they are supremely independent. But the greatest shortcoming in his reasoning was a failure to realize that if the executive assumed a power to nullify legislation on any grounds whatsoever, he was arrogating to himself a veto—a move not only in itself obviously unconstitutional but also a stretch of power that would go far to make the executive superior to any other branch of government. Nevertheless the council followed his recommendation and the courts were set up under the law of 1777.

The incident is interesting as an example of the confusion of lawmakers under the first state constitutions caused by the inevitable problem of constitutional review. How to provide for review without at the same time making the reviewing power superior to the constitution? Pennsylvania and Vermont provided for councils of censors and New York set up a council of revision, but these expedients proved either inadequate or arbitrary. The

[98] *S. R.*, XIX, 864.

only solution was to take the power out of the hands of men and give it to the law. To the eighteenth and nineteenth century this was a happy solution, since the law was the embodiment of reason, seemingly independent of the lawyers who construed it.

The next two months were periods of intense activity for Burke. He was confronted with staggering military problems. It was necessary to raise militia forces to protect the northern border against a move south by Cornwallis and to protect the southern border against a move north by British forces based at Charleston. At the same time some way must be found to destroy the loyalist bands ravaging the country, to contain the British at Wilmington, and give all possible support to General Greene, commander of the Southern Department. With grim determination Burke took the whole responsibility of organization on himself. He traveled about the country at great personal hazard, issued hundreds of orders to militia commanders, and did his best to give Greene all coöperation. The extent of his effectiveness will probably never be known, but probably it was small. The problems he faced were well-nigh insuperable.

Burke's capture by the notorious loyalist partisan leader, David Fanning, brought his activities to a sudden halt. The governor was temporarily encamped at Hillsborough with a small force when the loyalist leader surrounded the town early in the morning of September 12, 1781. At first Burke was determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, for he expected no mercy from the partisans. But a short time after the firing started, a British officer approached the house within which the governor and his staff had barricaded themselves and informed them they would be taken to Wilmington as prisoners if they surrendered. Burke agreed. By forced marches through back country in order to avoid whig forces, the cortège finally arrived at Wilmington on the twenty-third. Here they were handed over to the British commandant, Major Craig.[99]

Burke was completely done in. His clothes were in rags and he had been pillaged of everything he owned. But from the friendly greeting he received from Craig he hoped that he would soon be exchanged as a prisoner of war. The next day, however, he was

[99] Burke gave two detailed accounts of his capture, one in a letter of Oct. 17 (*S. R.*, XV, 650-654), the other in a message to the Assembly (*S. R.*, XVI, 11-19). See also Fanning's narrative. *S. R.*, XXII, 207.

confined to a bare room on the order of Craig and informed he was "a prisoner of state." The ambiguous term had an ominous ring, but Burke's courage did not desert him. In his adversity he called upon philosophy. ". . . my prospect was that of reducing to practice much of what I had read of the Lacedemonian virtue," he wrote a few days later, "and I began to cast my memory back through the history of that patient, autere people in search of some person whom I could propose for my model." [100] He had ample time for choice, for "tho' not shut up in a Seraglio," he was "as difficult of access as his Majesty of Constantinople." He left no record of whether he found a historical character suitable for emulation, but he took consolation in the fact that "his most trifling movements were considered so dangerous to a Prince who is Lord of so many brave Battalions and so invincible a navy and such inexhaustible resources as his Majesty of Great Britain."

Burke was given parole in November on his own request, but only within the limits of James Island, off Charleston. Here he was in grave danger of his life from loyalist refugees who had settled there after expulsion from North Carolina. An unseen assailant, firing through a window one night, killed a companion at his side. Then a friend who had talked to Craig explained to Burke the significance of his status as "prisoner of state." He was being held as a hostage for the lives of loyalists—particularly Fanning—who might be condemned by North Carolina civil courts. Now Burke realized that he was in more imminent danger than ever.

An apreciation of his predicament requires an explanation of the law of belligerent status observed in the Revolution. At the beginning of the war the British granted belligerent status to the rebels, although legally they might be considered as traitors subject to criminal process. The move was not taken because of humanitarian considerations, but merely because the legal course would invite retaliation. Belligerent status was extended to militia as well as the regular army, but the British insisted, with reason, that the Americans extend belligerent status to what the British considered their own militia—the armed loyalists. Washington agreed to this but the states protested. They insisted on

[100] *S. R.*, XV, 652.

regarding armed loyalists as traitors under their own state laws. This was the occasion for Washington's statement, "it would be better to let the laws sleep" which caused such a furor in Congress.[101] The argument was never settled. The Continental Army held loyalists as prisoners of war while the states, regarding them as traitors, held them personally responsible for all acts of violence.

General Greene, after the fall of Charleston, had made an arrangement with the British — called a "cartel" — whereby prisoners would be exchanged on both sides and officers given parole. It was agreed that loyalists were to have belligerent status corresponding to that of American militia.[102] But this was contrary to North Carolina law and the most cherished ideas of Governor Burke. As early as 1777 Burke had introduced a bill into the Assembly to confiscate loyalist estates.[103] In 1781 the Assembly, at his urging, made more stringent its treason laws.[104] When General Caswell, of the state militia, put to death some loyalist prisoners, Craig accused him of murder and wrote to Burke threatening reprisals on prisoners in British hands.[105] Burke replied that Caswell was carrying out the law. He threw the threat back into Craig's teeth with grim sarcasm: "Should you in any instance put this threat into execution," he wrote, "the effect will be very different than you expect, for although we would abhor following the example of our Indian savage neighbors in delivering over prisoners to be tortured at the pleasure of a fierce and vengeful kindred, yet the example of a nation so polite and celebrated as Great Britain would meet with more respect, and we should probably imitate it with peculiar advantages should our humanity be obliged to give way to public utility."[106] A few days later the Assembly ordered Burke to pursue a policy of retaliation.[107]

Then Burke himself was captured and delivered over to Major Craig. It must have seemed to the major a prime example of poetic justice. Burke was hoist on his own petard. The most

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[101] Burnett, *Letters*, III, 161.
[102] G. W. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, III, 282.
[103] *S. R.*, XII, 412.
[104] *S. R.*, XXIV, 396.
[105] *S. R.*, XXII, VI, 1024-1024; see also XV, 553-555.
[106] *S. R.*, XXII, 1028.
[107] *S. R.*, XVII, 829.

important advocate of the policy of retaliation had himself become the most fitting subject for retaliation.

As Burke regarded his own position, it must have seemed very grim indeed. At any moment on James Island he might be shot out of hand by loyalist refugees or he might he formally executed by a British firing squad. And what would the North Carolina government do? It had two alternatives. Either it could suspend the treason laws and save Burke—at the expense of probable renewed loyalist outbreaks—or it could enforce the laws and perhaps send Burke to his death. Either alternative was undoubtedly very painful for Burke to contemplate. But there were three possible ways out of the dilemma. He might be exchanged for a prominent Britisher in American hands, he might be paroled behind the American lines, or, all else failing, he might break his parole and escape from James Island.

Hope for the first possibility went glimmering when neither North Carolina nor the army made a move to effect his exchange. On November 27 Burke begged a friend to intercede with General Leslie, commander at Charleston, to grant his parole home.[108] He received no answer from either the friend or Leslie. He knew Craig's purpose too well to make attempts in that quarter, so nothing remained but *sauve qui peut.* Accordingly he dispatched a letter to the North Carolina government advising that the treason laws be put in full force, and made good his escape, leaving behind a letter to Leslie explaining the motives for his action.[109] His escape was absolutely necessary, he said, because Leslie refused to provide him protection from imminent danger of assassination. This alone would cancel any obligation to adhere to his parole. But when he heard that he was being held for possible retaliation, he continued, then he felt doubly justified in escaping. The letter was violently recriminatory and made it crystal clear that Burke felt no further obligation to those who had extended him parole.

But after Burke had arrived at Greene's headquarters and had had a talk with the general, he dispatched another letter to Leslie, much more subdued in tone. Omitting any personal recrimination, he justified his action solely on the ground of imminent

[108] *S. R.*, XIX, 887.
[109] *S. R.*, XXII, 606-608.

danger to his person and did not mention the subject of retaliation. Moreover, he offered to effect the release of any British officer Leslie might name by way of exchange, or to return to the British lines on condition that he would be treated as the officers of the Continental Army when prisoners of war.[110] Thus he admitted what he had denied in his earlier letter to Leslie—a continuing obligation contingent on certain conditions.

Leslie made reply by a letter to Greene January 27. Deriding Burke's fears of assassination as "chimerical," he made it clear that Burke should return to Charleston immediately. He guaranteed that after his return every precaution would be taken to insure his safety.[111] Burke refused the demand and took over the reins of government of the state.

Historians have hesitated to pass judgment on whether Burke was justified in breaking his parole and returning to his position as governor. The difficulty is to appraise his action in terms of eighteenth-century values. From the facts as we know them, Burke was probably justified in considering all obligation at an end. He was very plainly in real danger on James Island. His former host there, writing in 1783, declared that if he had not escaped he would never have left the island alive.[112] Burke was right in assuming that parole was a bilateral obligation. The British owed him protection in return for his promise to remain disarmed and thus relieve them of the necessity of guarding him. When they plainly refused to perform their part of the bargain, and when Burke sincerely believed himself in danger, he was justified in considering all obligation at an end. The fact that he was held as a "prisoner of state," a possible subject for retaliation, would not in itself justify breaking parole. He had requested parole with full knowledge of his indefinite status.

The question arises as to whether Burke was obligated to return on the basis of Leslie's promise that he would receive full protection. The answer must be that he was not. Burke offered to return on the condition that he be given the status of a Continental Army prisoner. Leslie did not meet this condition. He offered nothing more than a return to Burke's original status.

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[110] *S. R.*, XVI, 178.
[111] *S. R.*, XVI, 179.
[112] *S. R.*, XXII, 620.

Some might argue that even though Burke was justified in breaking parole he was unwise in taking up the reins of government. Actually Burke was compelled by law to resume his position as governor. The Assembly had passed a law in 1781 forcing all Americans paroled by the British to renounce their obligation.[113] The law was intended to reach those who got themselves captured and paroled with the express purpose of thereby avoiding military service. If Burke had not renounced his parole he would have been held personally responsible to the Assembly.

All these considerations were minor, however, beside the question of whether Burke had violated his own personal honor—the eighteenth-century code in whose service men performed both heroic deeds and deeds of heroic absurdity. In the eyes of its devotees—particularly military officers—Burke had committed the only unpardonable sin. He had broken the code. *Noblesse oblige* dictated that he should have gone to his death on James Island chin up, eyes forward, a few words for the edification of posterity on his lips. It was Burke's misfortune that he himself probably believed this. If he could honestly have convinced himself that he was justified in breaking his word, the remainder of his life might not have been so tragic. Actually, the regard by American military leaders for the binding quality of oaths was highly selective. A host of Revolutionary officers from Washington down the line apparently felt no compunction in breaking oaths of allegiance to Great Britain taken earlier in the Royal Army or militia service. The whigs of North Carolina had taken great pains in 1776 to persuade former Regulators that the oaths of allegiance they took to Great Britain after the battle of Alamance—largely at the insistence of these same whigs—were no longer binding. It was apparently only in the realm of gentlemanly conduct that oaths became things to die for.

Burke wrote letter after letter to Greene, fulminating against the disapproval he felt to be all about him and repeating the reasons for his decision in vain hope of a complete moral vindication.[114] In defending himself from attacks he tried to maintain that it was on Greene's advice he had resumed his position. This

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[113] *S. R.*, XXIV, 394-395. The law is badly drafted and unclear, in that it does not directly invalidate all British paroles. Yet it is plain that all returning civil and military officers would open themselves to prosecution unless they personally renounced their paroles.

[114] *S. R.*, XVI, 214-216, 278-283, 312-314, 445.

put Greene in a bad spot. He could not afford to offend Burke. Burke's energy and the full cooperation he gave as head of the North Carolina government were valuable military assets. So Greene made it plain that he sympathized with the governor and did not condemn his action. Yet as an officer and a gentleman he carefully avoided giving approval. He said his advice had been for Burke to retire "in order to put his conduct in as favorable a light as possible" [115]—advice he could safely give once convinced of Burke's determination to the contrary. Finally, forced by Burke's importunities, he rendered the crushing verdict. "My idea of the sacredness of a parole is such that I would sooner have abided the consequences than have left the enemy's lines," he said.[116]

Burke was further embittered by the feeling that the state and the army had deserted him in his hour of need. If efforts had been made to exchange him, he thought, the whole affair might have been avoided. The army "would have made themselves very easy if I had been privately murdered or publicly executed," he charged.[117] As for the state, "It is easy to perceive that I was sacrificed to difficult, dangerous and important tasks only because I was supposed to have the talents to execute them." [118] In his message at the opening of the Assembly in 1782 he plainly accused the members of neglect.[119]

It is an open question whether Burke sought re-election to the governorship when the Assembly met in May, 1782. He protested his desire to retire, but in such terms as to suggest he could be drafted. Yet the Assembly took no notice and dismissed him with a curt, one-sentence resolution of thanks that contrasted markedly with the lavish ceremony and the declaration of esteem that had preceded his induction into office.[120]

Thus bitter, disillusioned, and probably harried by a sense of shame, Burke went back to what was left of his plantation in Orange County. It was probably in this period that he wrote an essay on constitutional government which shows how far he had

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[115] *S. R.*, XVI, 238.
[116] *S. R.*, XVI, 331.
[117] *S. R.*, XVI, 253, 280.
[118] *S. R.*, XVI, 280.
[119] *S. R.*, XVI, 18.
[120] *S. R.*, XVI, 44; XVII, 813-814.

deviated from his former democratic faith.[121] Personal resentment undoubtedly had much to do with the change in his ideas, but a more important cause was probably the course of North Carolina during the war. The mass of its citizens certainly had not exhibited the noblest qualities of mankind. Outside of a relatively small number of ardent patriots and equally ardent loyalists, the majority of the people appear to have been indifferent. No other reason can explain why the third most populous state, and one with good agricultural production, could support only a small army in the field. The laws of this period indicate that every dodge was used to escape military service.

In his essay Burke declares there can be no equality in a political society. An inequality of talents will always produce an inequality of property, and property will always command honors. Therefore "I should advise that those causes should produce their natural effects as easily and advantageously as possible." In other words, we live in a world where inequality is inevitable, therefore the purpose of a constitution is to promote and perpetuate it. To that end a nobility based on landed property should be created. They should constitute an upper house of the legislature. Here the similarity to the House of Lords is evident. A lower house whose purpose was only to check the upper house should have a representation based on freehold suffrage even though theoretically it was to represent all the "people." "Only those who own property are interested in the permanent happiness of the country," declares Burke. He specifically denies that the people as a whole are able to govern themselves—the essence of the democratic creed. Foreshadowing *The Federalist* he declares that factions are inevitable and will disrupt government unless the higher orders of society ". . . direct the actions of the community, plan for its advantage, and correct by lowering their passions, the inferior orders." Political power should rest with ". . . the few who have wealth and leisure."

Although Burke, as an inhabitant and representative of Orange County, spoke the credo of the frontier in 1776, he used a different language in 1783. Refusing the offer of a friend who

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[121] The MS., a fragment of a longer work, is in the Burke Papers, N. C. Department of Archives and History. It might have been written at the time of the Halifax Congress of April, 1776, but the whole tone of it is so contrary to what must have been Burke's ideas at the time that it seems almost certain to have come from a later period.

invited him to join in carving out a plantation in the back country of Georgia, he said, "new countries lure the idle as well as the adventurous, and take up many people who have found it inconvenient to remain in other states." In this society "no form of government can give security and liberty is as much an empty name as among the natives of indostan. Power is tyranny in its most hideous form" (i.e. except when in the hands of the wealthy and leisured) "for it is cruel, unrelenting and capricious as that monster multitude by whom it is exercised." As for himself, he wanted to spend the rest of his life "in an elegant enjoyment of the pleasures of society." [122] Frederick Jackson Turner would probably have been puzzled by Burke.

A more complete repudiation of democracy can hardly be imagined. Burke's political thought had come a complete circle since 1776. Starting with his increasing desire to centralize authority while a delegate to Congress, he had been led to qualify severely, if not even to repudiate, state sovereignty. Then the events of 1781 and his subsequent disillusionment had done the rest.

The circumstances of Burke's death are almost as tragic as his last years. For some time he had been separated from his wife and in bad health.[123] He died on December 2, 1783. Hooper wrote to Iredell on the occasion. "Dr. Burke died about a fortnight since, and fell, in some measure, a sacrifice to the obstinacy which marked his character through life. . . . It would, however, be a question with his friends whether life upon the terms he had it would not have been a curse in the extreme. Laboring under a complication of disorders; oppressed with the most agonizing pains, which for months had deprived him of his natural rest; his whole mass of blood dissolved; his temper soured with disappointment, and, to sum up his misery—no friend or companion at his home to soothe the anguish of his mind or mitigate the pain of his body. Was not death to him 'a comforter, friend, and physician?' "[124]

Hooper's rhetorical question was pertinent. It was fitting that he, the great denouncer of popular government in 1776, should write Burke's epitaph in 1783.

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[122] Letter of Aug. 4, 1783. Burke Letter Books.

[123] James Iredell wrote his wife in November, 1782, that Burke was "*wife hungry.*" McRee, *Iredell*, II, 26.

[124] McRee, *Iredell*, II, 83.

Probably no man of the Revolutionary period in North Carolina has given more devoted service to the state than Thomas Burke. Under different circumstances his talents would have been of great use to the state and his faults kept in control. He was indeed one of the state's most grievous casualties of the Revolutionary War.

THE SOUTHERN SENATORS AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1918-1920

By DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

Twenty-nine years ago eighteen southern Senators[1] joined a dozen Republican irreconcilables to defeat the Lodge resolution for ratifying the Treaty of Versailles and thereby to prevent United States entrance into the League of Nations.[2] Since that fateful day in March, 1920, the historical spotlight has often been directed at the train of events which culminated in the Senate's rejection of the treaty, and especially at the motivating forces behind the Senate's decision.

The traditional culprits who share the blame for the defeat of the treaty in the Senate are Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts Republican, usually depicted as breathing fire and brimstone at mentioning the pedantic Wilson, the twelve or thirteen irreconcilables, usually relegated to one side and labelled "isolationists," and the great crusader himself, Woodrow Wilson. Since the largest single element in the defeat of the treaty in March, 1920, was the southern vote, and since little inquiry has been made into the whys and wherefores of the southerners' actions, it seems profitable to analyze briefly their attitude toward the League and, perhaps, to glean an understanding of their staunch refusal to quit Woodrow Wilson on this final vote—as most of their Democratic cohorts did.

Southern Congressmen formed the nucleus of the Democratic forces which enacted the great Wilsonian domestic program.[3] They worked together harmoniously and fruitfully, in the main, to achieve these Democratic triumphs. When Wilson led his country on a holy crusade for peace and brought back from Paris the covenant of a "Society of Nations" to enforce the peace of the world, the southern Senators forsook the traditional Democratic

[1] For the purposes of this paper the southern states will include only the eleven secession states.

[2] The final vote in the Senate occurred on March 19, 1920, resulting in the defeat of the resolution by a vote of 49 to 35, only seven votes short of the required two-thirds majority. Significantly, only five Democrats outside the South voted against the resolution, while fifteen Democrats who had voted against it the previous November now voted for ratification. *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session (Washington, 1919), 8803; *Congressional Record*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, second session, 4599.

[3] An analysis of the contributions of southern Congressmen in enacting the Wilsonian legislation is contained in Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Southern Congressional Leaders and the New Freedom, 1913-1917, unpublished master's thesis, 1947, University of North Carolina.

position (which opposed the extension of America's participation in international affairs) and gave their support to the treaty as it stood.

The twenty-two southern Senators form an interesting group for historical study. Eighteen of them were directly concerned in the passage of the New Freedom legislation; eleven were chairmen of important committees in the House or Senate during the period from 1913 to 1919; while only two, William Julius Harris of Georgia and Nathaniel Barksdale Dial of South Carolina, were freshman Senators in 1919. One, Thomas Staples Martin, longtime Virginia political boss and conservative, was majority leader of the Senate Democrats during the period of their control and the minority leader from March 4, 1919, until his death in November of the same year.[4] Martin's death was to be one of the factors in the League fight in the Senate.

A majority of these Senators had given Wilson wholehearted assistance during the preceding six years. Conspicuous among his supporters were John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, Lee Slater Overman of North Carolina, and Carter Glass of Virginia. The sixty-four-year-old Williams was truly a congressional "character." A man of great scholarship and southern tradition, Williams was perhaps Wilson's staunchest enthusiast. This little man had come to Congress in 1893, had served as Democratic minority leader in the House, was a splendid debater, and was regarded as a liberal.[5] Overman was a good constitutional lawyer and had served as Senate chairman of the Rules Committee during the previous six years. He was a liberal conservative who embodied the best traditions of the Senate.[6] Carter Glass entered the Senate in early 1920, a dapper little newspaper editor, with an outstanding record as a Congressman from Virginia. He had been more than any other man save Wilson responsible for the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 and had served briefly as Secretary of the Treasury.[7] He was a warm friend of Wilson.

Oscar Wilder Underwood, dynamic Senator from Alabama, had worked well with the President as Democratic majority leader

[4] Virginius Dabney, "Thomas Staples Martin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 346-347.
[5] George Coleman Osborn, *John Sharp Williams, Planter-Statesman of the Deep South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1943), 11-12, 104, 106, 113.
[6] William K. Boyd, "Lee Slater Overman," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 114-115.
[7] Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *Carter Glass, A Biography* (New York, 1939), 38; Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders," 25-26, 55-62.

in the House and would soon make a bid for the minority leadership in the Senate. He was a parliamentarian of superlative quality, with great persuasive powers.[8] Furnifold McLendell Simmons, quiet and deliberate North Carolinian, had also achieved fame because of his relation with the New Freedom. Claude Augustus Swanson of Virginia, Charles Allen Culberson of Texas, Joseph Taylor Robinson of Arkansas, Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, and Byron Patton Harrison of Mississippi were stalwart Wilsonians, and could be expected to support his League.

Hoke Smith, big, sixty-three year-old Georgian, was probably the most conspicuous southern Senator who frequently disagreed with Wilson. Smith possessed a career packed with political experience. He was sincere, able, and quite willing to be independent if necessary.[9] Duncan Upshaw Fletcher and Park Trammell of Florida and John Knight Shields of Tennessee were men also capable of action independent of the administration. These were the leading southern Senators; most of them—but not all—would support their leader to the utmost.

II

In spite of Wilson's appeal to the voters for the return of a Democratic Congress in 1918, the Republicans won the election and obtained forty-nine of the ninety-six Senate seats.[10] This allowed them to organize the Senate committees. The Foreign Relations Committee was headed by the veteran Henry Cabot Lodge, and of the seventeen members on the committee, ten were Republicans, six of whom were irreconcilables. The leading Democrat on the committee was Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska, while the Southerners represented were Williams, Swanson, and Shields.[11] Perhaps it was unforunate for the League that more conciliatory and independent Democrats were not on this committee.

The southern Senators generally endorsed Wilson's decision to go to Paris. Morris Sheppard believed that it was in every way proper, while Hoke Smith said that the President's "information will be most valuable, and will contribute to the future welfare of

[8] Grantham, "Southern Congressional Leaders," 16-18, 46-47.
[9] Robert Preston Brooks, "Hoke Smith," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 281-282.
[10] *Official Congressional Directory*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session (Washington, 1919), 150.
[11] *Official Congressional Directory*, Sixty-Sixth Congress, first session, 150, 179.

the foreign countries of the world." [12] But even the Democrats were a little cool toward Wilson when he spoke to Congress on the eve of his departure, upon which occasion he requested "the encouragement and the added strength of your united support." [13]

Some of the southerners were quick to defend the President, however, as is evidenced in John Sharp Williams' chiding speech directed at the Republicans and made in answer to Lawrence Y. Sherman's criticism of Wilson's trip.[14] The Democrats, with the exception of renegade James A. Reed, Missouri irreconcilable, said little about the League prior to Wilson's return in late February. Williams proved to be the most fervent defender of the President's peace policy during this period. He believed the League would be insurance "that no civilized nation shall dare make war upon another without either offering or accepting fair arbitration." [15] Other southerners like McKellar and Swanson rallied to Wilson's support.

Beginning with McKellar, on December 30, 1918, most of the southerners made long, prepared speeches favoring the treaty and the League. Characteristic of these addresses was that of William P. Pollock, retiring Senator from South Carolina, on January 30, 1919. Pollock commented that he had "listened with some impatience at the petty criticisms of the President . . . on account of his visit abroad. . . ." He compared the proposed League with the American Articles of Confederation, cited the British support of the Monroe Doctrine, and gave his undivided support to Wilson.[16] Less friendly to the President were the swan songs of two other departing southerners, James Kimble Vardaman of Mississippi and Thomas William Hardwick of Georgia. Their speeches, delivered on February 15 and March 1, 1919, indicated that they would have been irreconcilables had they remained in the Senate. But they were exceptions to the southern rule.

On February 15, 1919, after Wilson had made his request that the Senate refrain from debating the League pending his arrival

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[12] *New York Times*, November 19, 1918.

[13] *New York Times*, December 3, 1918; *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 8.

[14] Sherman had introduced a resolution which would have declared Wilson out of office. Williams even accused some of the Democrats of "sticking the President with a fine Italian dagger every chance they got." *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 28-31.

On December 8 the *New York Times* printed a cartoon entitled "The Girl He Left Behind Him," depicting the girl as "Senatorial Fault-Finders" sticking her tongue out (from a wharf) at the fading *George Washington* which was carrying Wilson to Paris.

[15] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 84, 88.

[16] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 2340-2344.

Senators John Hollis Bankhead of Alabama, Ellison D. Smith and Nathaniel P. Dial of South Carolina, Kirby of Arkansas, Martin of Virginia, Trammell of Florida, Harris of Georgia, and Culberson of Texas made no speeches on the League before November 15, 1919.

back in the United States, there was a strong element of opposition expressed in the Senate, both to the request and to the League. Southern Senators Robinson, Ransdell, McKellar, and Swanson were quoted as favoring the League, however.[17] In opposition to this prevailing southern view was Vardaman. "The President is coming home well pleased with his little gold rattle," he said, but it should "receive ripe, mature, full, and complete discussion." In Vardaman's opinion, Wilson should have asked the Senate to "tear it to pieces," "analyze it," "vivisect it," and find its defects.[18]

The majority of the southerners continued to give steadfast, though sometimes confused, backing to their leader. John Sharp Williams took every opportunity to introduce pro-League editorials, speeches, poems, and articles into the *Record.* The nature of some of this material afforded his colleagues many chuckles.[19]

To those who opposed him Wilson let it be known that he would brook no opposition; this is indicated in his alleged reply to Senator Martin's expression of doubt concerning the ratification of the treaty: "Any one who opposes me in that, I'll crush!" [20] In his New York speech of March 4, 1919, the President belligerently said that "when the treaty comes back . . . [my opponents] will find the covenant not only in it, but so many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that you cannot dissect the covenant from the treaty without destroying the whole vital structure." [21] The limelight during these early months of the Senate fight was not on the minority Democrats but on the critical and majority Republicans.

Between May 19, 1919, when the Senate was convened in extra session, and November 19, 1919, when the treaty was finally voted on, the Democrats (including the southerners) fought a gradually-retreating rear-guard fight in behalf of the League. Soon after the session commenced, on May 26, Reed of Missouri created something of a sensation when he attempted to draw southern opposition to the League through the device of white supremacy. "How will the Senators from the South," queried Reed, "who represent States which have contended that the white race alone is fit to control the destiny of the States of America,... [feel when]

[17] *New York Times,* February 16, 1919.
[18] *New York Times,* February 16, 1919; *Cong. Record,* 65 Cong., third sess., 3656.
[19] On September 2, 1919, Williams placed certain resolutions in the *Record* drafted by the Confederate Veterans of Mississippi which urged ratification of the League.
[20] Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York, 1945), 13.
[21] *New York Times,* March 5, 1919.

Liberia, [and] Haiti, . . . [sit] at the council table of the world and each cast [s] a vote equal to that of the United States?"[22] In a blistering answer Arkansas' Robinson offered to resign his seat if the Arkansans did not support the League two to one.[23]

In early June Williams said that it seemed to him that the discussion "has been a plain, palpable, and obvious effort . . . , to nag and worry and bedevil the President . . . , not with regard to the making of a treaty but with regard to its negotiation, and every possible step has been taken to create in foreign countries the impression that his own people are not behind him." [24] On June 19 the Democrats openly accused the Republicans of partisan activity against the League, and Williams, in his typically picturesque way, spoke of the work of an "infernal gang." [25]

Just before Wilson laid the treaty before the Senate, the two parties released polls of the Senate on the matter of reservations. The Democratic poll stated that forty-nine senators favored reservations, while forty-seven were listed as opposing them. The Republicans estimated that forty-nine favored reservations, but that only thirty-eight opposed them. Of these thirty-eight, they listed eighteen southerners.[26] The southerners were loud in their praise of Wilson, and the newspaper men reported that during the ovation given Wilson after his treaty presentation speech of July 10, the "rebel yell" could be heard quite distinctly.[27]

The Republican strategy of slowing up action on the treaty soon began to worry some Democrats, including the President. He conferred with eleven Senators of his own party on July 28 regarding the treaty and chances for speedier action.[28] The Democrats on the Foreign Relations Committee were highly vocal in their opposition to some of the treaty changes being approved by the committee. After it voted on August 23 to return Shantung directly to China, Swanson charged that it was an attempt to defeat the treaty, but he predicted success for Senate ratification.[29]

The majority report of the Foreign Relations Committee was presented to the Senate on September 10, 1919, advising ratifica-

[22] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 244.
[23] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 239.
[24] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 677.
[25] *New York Times*, June 20, 1919.
[26] Bankhead, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Underwood were considered doubtful by the Republicans. *New York Times*, July 9, 1919.
[27] Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 5.
[28] *New York Times*, July 29, 1919. Swanson, Overman, Harrison, and Shields were the southerners present.
[29] The committee vote was nine to eight. *New York Times*, August 24, 1919.

tion but with forty-six technical amendments and four reservations.[30] The minority report was read to the Senate the following day, and was said to be the work of Hitchcock, Swanson, and Williams.[31] This report, which was signed by all the committee Democrats except Shields, condemned the Republican changes to the treaty, and charged that their action was "government by obstruction as well as by a minority." It recommended that "the work of the peace conference be confirmed, the will of the people fulfilled, and the peace of the world advanced by ratification...."[32] On September 15 the treaty became the regular business of the Senate.

The defeat of the committee amendments in early October found the southerners adding their support to the rejection of the changes.[33] Just before the committee decided on its final program of reservations, Shields advocated that the Democrats compromise with the Republican leaders in order to smooth the way for ratification, but Hitchcock opposed such a move, while a conference of fifteen Democrats reached no decision on the question.[34] In the subsequent committee debate on reservations, Shields sided with the Republicans.[35] The committee's new program included fourteen reservations to the League; and Williams claimed that the foes of the treaty had "wrapped swaddling clothes around it," and "tucked [it] away in its grave."[36]

The voting on the Lodge reservations, which began on November 7, found most of the southerners, as well as most other Democrats, voting in the negative.[37] A total of twenty-eight southern votes were cast for the fourteen Lodge reservations, averaging about two votes per reservation. Hoke Smith and John K. Shields gave the most southern support to the reservations.

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[30] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 5112.
[31] *New York Times*, September 8, 1919.
[32] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 5213, 5215.
[33] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6269, 6276.
[34] *New York Times*, October 22, 1919.
[35] *New York Times*, October, 23, 1919.
[36] *New York Times*, October 24, 1919.
[37] See table below for the southern vote on the Lodge reservations. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8139, 8437, 8755, 8560-8570, 8730, 8741; *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., second sess., 3242, 3515, 3741, 3748, 3857, 3894, 3955, 4007-4010, 4067, 4333, 4522. See also W. Strull Holt. *Treaties Defeated By the Senate* (Baltimore, 1933), 297-298.

SOUTHERN VOTES FOR THE LODGE RESERVATIONS

Amendment	Nov., 1919	Feb. & Mar., 1920
1. Withdrawal	Hoke Smith	Fletcher, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
2. Article 10	Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
3. Mandates	Shields and Hoke Smith	Culberson, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Kirby, McKellar, Overman, Randsdell, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
4. Domestic questions	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
5. Monroe doctrine	Kirby, Shields, and Trammell	Fletcher, Kirby, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
6. Shantung	Shields	Shields and Hoke Smith
7. Appontment of representatives	Shields and Hoke Smith	Fletcher, Kirby, Overman, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
8. Reparations Commission	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
9. Expenses of League	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields and Hoke Smith
10. Armaments	Shields and Hoke Smith	Kirby, Shields, and Hoke Smith
11. Covenant-breaking states	Shields and Hoke Smith	Shields
12. Illegal acts	Shields	Fletcher and Shields
13. International labor	Dial, Shields, and Hoke Smith	Shields
14. Dominion votes	Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell	Fletcher, Kirby, Shields, Hoke Smith, and Trammell
15. Irish self-determination		Harris, Harrison, Kirby, McKellar, Ransdell, Shields, Sheppard, and Ellison D. Smith
Total	28	62

In a last minute conference on November 17, Wilson informed League leader Hitchcock that he would "pocket" the treaty if the Senate ratified it with the Lodge reservations,[38] and in a letter to the Senate leader the following day he referred to the Lodge resolution of ratification as a "nullification of the treaty," he asked "the friends and supporters of the treaty" to vote it down.[39] The Senate voted on the treaty resolution late in the afternoon on November 19. The galleries were crowded and the air tense when the motion to vote came.[40]

In accordance with Wilson's request the southerners, with the exception of Shields and Hoke Smith, voted against the Lodge resolution, which was defeated 39 to 55.[41] James A. Reed then moved that the vote be reconsidered. The Democrats and irreconcilables rose up to defeat the Lodge resolution a second time, 41 to 51.[42] It was then that Swanson, ardent League exponent, walked over to Lodge and pleaded: "For God's sake, can't something be done to save the treaty?" "Senator the door is closed," replied the Massachusetts Senator, "you have done it yourselves." [43] And truly the door was closed, for although Lodge allowed a vote on the Underwood resolution (without reservations), it was rejected 38 to 53.[44] At 11:10 p.m. a weary Senate adjourned *sine die*, and news of the defeat of Wilson's League sped around the world.

III

In two remarkable letters to Wilson, Colonel Edward M. House, on November 24 and 27, 1919, advised the President not to mention the treaty in his annual message, "but return it to the Senate as soon as it convenes." House wanted Wilson to keep hands off the reservations, but to allow the Democrats to vote for such changes as a majority of the Senate might suggest, although they might strive to make the reservations as harmless as possible.

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[38] *New York Times*, November 18, 1919.
[39] *New York Times*, November 20, 1919.
[40] *New York Times*, November 20, 1919.
[41] Three Democrats, Gore (Oklahoma), Shields, and Hoke Smith, voted for the Lodge resolution. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8786.
[42] Six Democrats, including Shields and Hoke Smith from the South, voted for the resolution. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8802.
[43] *New York Times*, November 20, 1919.
[44] Hoke Smith and Trammell deserted their southern colleagues to vote against the Underwood resolution. Eight Democrats opposed the resolution. It was the hope of the administration, whose strategy was to bring a double vote on the treaty, that enough Republicans (mild reservationists) would vote for the League without change to bring ratification. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8803.

The rest should be left to the Allies. It seemed to House that the American people wanted ratification—with or without reservations. To the ordinary man the distinction was slight.[45]

Wilson paid no heed to the Texan, and no word concerning the treaty came from the White House during the remainder of the year. As a matter of fact Wilson was in no condition to give the Democrats effective leadership, and the death of Thomas S. Martin left the Democrats without any real leader in the Senate. The situation was further complicated when Underwood and Hitchcock began a struggle for Martin's old position as Democratic leader. In mid-December Underwood urged that a compromise be effected and gave his support to a set of mild reservations.[46]

Public opinion was not yet ready for America to discard the League. On December 19 Hoke Smith reported that fifteen or twenty Democratic Senators were willing to enter a non-partisan conference of Senators favoring reservations.[47] On the next day Underwood proposed a conciliation committee.[48] On December 22 Lodge conferred with Underwood;[49] four days later a group of Republican mild reservationists informed Lodge that they would treat directly with the Democrats unless he made progress on the treaty;[50] and on January 2, 1920, the press reported that the Democrats were ready to compromise through mild reservations.[51] The compromise snowball seemed to be well underway, but the Underwood-Hitchcock rivalry continued to complicate matters. Hitchcock was reluctant to accept reservations before the scheduled Democratic caucus of Januray 15, which would choose the new leader. He reasoned that the Democrats would be more likely to support him if he were continuing to bear the brunt of the League fight.

The month of January, 1920, was high-lighted by constant compromise negotiations between the Senators from the two parties and by Woodrow Wilson's Jackson Day letter of January 8, which suggested that "the clear and simple way out is to submit it for determination at the next election... [in] the form of a great and

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[45] House thought the treaty would pass if Wilson turned it over to the Senate—"probably in a form acceptable to both you [Wilson] and the allies." Charles Seymour (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston and New York, 1926), II, 509-511.
[46] *New York Times*, December 17, 1919.
[47] Smith predicted an agreement by January 15, 1920. *New York Times*, December 20, 1919.
[48] *New York Times*, December 21, 1919.
[49] *New York Times*, December 24, 1919.
[50] *New York Times*, December 27, 1919.
[51] *New York Times*, January 3, 1920. Lodge conferred with Swanson on the same day.

solemn referendum, . . ." [52] Hoke Smith, McKellar, Swanson, and Simmons were southerners who made conciliatory moves during this period. The most important of these informal steps was the calling of the bi-partisan committee by Lodge at the instigation of Le Baron Colt of Rhode Island and Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee.[53] McKellar and Simmons were the southerners who participated in this conference. Lodge was never very enthusiastic, and finally terminated the meetings in late January.[54]

On January 26 Wilson wrote to Hitchcock that he would accept the mild Hitchcock reservations,[55] but the Lodge reservationists were encouraged by the appearance of the Grey letter on January 31 to believe the Allies would agree to the fourteen committee reservations. The Democrats were frustrated and looked to the White House for guidance.[56] On February 9, 1920, the day the Senate officially began a reconsideration of the treaty, the *New York Times* flashed the following headlines: "TREATY UP TODAY; WIDE DEMAND FOR ACTION; BIG ORGANIZATIONS BRINGING PRESSURE; BRYAN ON HIS WAY TO TAKE PART IN FIGHT."

The treaty emerged from the committee on February 10 with fifteen reservations, including the new one favoring Irish self-determination. The reservations were all voted on and approved by the Senate between February 21 and March 18. It is interesting to note the increase in southern support for the Lodge reservations. A total of sixty-two southern votes were cast in support of the Lodge changes, averaging about four votes per reservation. Almost five southerners refrained from voting on each reservation for one reason or another. This left only thirteen southern votes against each reservation. It is also worth while to point out

[52] *New York Times*, January 9, 1920.
On January 3 Hoke Smith invited William H. King of Utah, George E. Chamberlain of Oregon, and Park Trammell of Florida to confer with him at his home regarding a compromise.
On January 6 John B. Kendrick of Wyoming offered a new plan said to be the work of William Jennings Bryan, McKellar, Swanson, and others. Sponsors of the plan claimed that forty-four Democrats would support it.
Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma led a conference of twenty Democrats on January 11 which tried to work out an agreement. Southerners Underwood, Dial, McKellar, Harrison, and Hoke Smith participated. *New York Times*, January 4, 7, and 12, 1920.

[53] Maurice H. Darling, "Who Kept the United States out of the League of Nations?" *Canadian Historical Review* X (1929), 199-200.

[54] Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations* (New York, 1925), 195. Lodge issued a statement to the press in which he said that "no final agreement, even to submit any changes to their colleagues . . . , was reached." Apparently the irreconcilables helped persuade Lodge.

[55] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., second sess., 2622.

[56] Sir Edward Grey, former British foreign minister, wrote the above-mentioned letter after visiting in the United States and conferring with congressional leaders. On February 5 the White House released a statement to the effect that Grey had acted without consulting the President. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 237-239.

that sixteen southerners voted in favor of the third reservation (mandates), while eight supported the fifteenth reservation (Irish self-determination).[57]

As the vote drew near the press reported, on March 4, that the Senate itself felt that the treaty was dead.[58] On March 5 it was rumored that the Democrats were looking to Wilson for a decision, but that Simmons and others were still trying to work out a compromise on article ten.[59] Taking the cue, Wilson wrote Hitchcock on March 8 that the reservations nullified the treaty. "I hear of reservationists and mild-reservationists," wrote the President, "but I cannot understand the difference between a nullifier and a mild nullifier." [60]

The final vote came on March 19, 1920, and despite wavering, the southerners voted strongly for the Wilson position. Eighteen southern Senators voted against the Lodge resolution, while only five Democrats outside the South voted similarly. Sixteen Democrats reversed their November vote and supported the resolution.[61] Three of the first four Democrats to vote left Wilson and voted for the treaty; then it was time for the venerable Culberson of Texas to answer yea or nay. If he supported the resolution, a stampede toward the treaty might well be started among the Democrats. For a moment the highly-esteemed Culberson hesitated, his face perplexed—then came his "nay." Perhaps the other southerners felt as Culberson later told friends he had felt: you know, for a moment I "didn't know how to vote." [62] The southerners and irreconcilables had defeated the Lodge League once again, and this would be the last defeat.

IV

The majority of the southerners in the Senate during the League controversy may be termed "Wilsonians," that is they sincerely believed in essentially the same kind of League as did

[57] *Supra.*
[58] *New York Times,* March 4, 1920.
[59] *New York Times,* March 6, 1920.
Simmons was anxious to talk to Wilson about his proposal. In early March Hitchcock wrote directly to Wilson urging that he see Simmons. The reply came in Mrs. Wilson's handwriting and said that it would be "folly" to undertake individual action. Apparently Carter Glass, good friend of Wilson, was the only Senator to see the President during this period. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 256, 258.
[60] *New York Times,* March 9, 1920. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 260, says Wilson's March letter whipped the wavering Democrats back into line.
[61] The five Democrats who voted with the southerners were Thomas of Colorado, Reed of Missouri, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Johnson of South Dakota, and Stanley of Kentucky. *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., second sess., 4599.
[62] Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal,* 267.

Wilson, or they were unwilling to take a different stand for political reasons. It is well to remember that forty per cent of the state resolutions endorsing the League during 1917-1919 were passed by southern states,[63] and that public opinion in the South was almost solidly behind the League. There were eighteen Wilsonians at the time of the November vote,[64] and seventeen when the March vote came the next year.[65] Thus the southerners maintained virtually the same position throughout the controversy.

The most vociferous southern Wilsonian, and probably the ablest, was John Sharp Williams. He was constantly championing Wilson and the League, was not connected with compromise negotiations, and approved of only one of the Lodge reservations. He poured contempt upon the irreconcilables, and once charged the League opponents with finding in the treaty "Sun specks, mare's nests, new discoveries of presidential sins!" [66] Williams' position was as extreme as that of Wilson, and he seemed also to have caught some of the President's idealism. As early as December, 1918, he said:

> My passion is peace, and I am so fond of peace that I will fight for it . . . whenever it is necessary or possible. . . . I do not believe that even my own country has the right to be the judge in its own quarrel, and to avoid peace when peace can be brought about with self-respect.[67]

This was as far as Wilson himself was willing to go.

Other vigorous Wilsonians were Joseph T. Robinson, who frequently took Wilson's enemies to task, Kenneth McKellar, whose part in the futile compromise negotiations were large,[68] Claude A. Swanson, Foreign Relations Committee member and one of the drafters of its minority report, and Carter Glass, late arrival on the Senate floor. All of these Wilsonians urged ratification of the treaty as it came from Paris. Oscar W. Underwood and Furnifold M. Simmons, influencial Democrats and Wilsonians,

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[63] *New York Times*, April 28, 1919.

[64] Thomas S. Martin, who had died a few days before, probably would have been a Wilsonian. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8786, 8802.

[65] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., second sess., 4599. Two southerners, Ransdell and Fletcher, shifted over from their November position. Glass was a new Wilsonian.

[66] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3235.

[67] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 198 (December 6, 1918).

[68] In a floor speech on December 30, 1918, McKellar asked: "Why should we receive a part of the fruits of victory now and postpone the remainder [League] until some other time?" *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 918-926.

supported the Wilson treaty, but said little before the November vote; both were later prominent in conciliation moves.

At least six southern Wilsonians took no part in the treaty debate, and several others made only one speech.[69] Some of the southern supporters were very idealistic and sometimes a little naive. Edward J. Gay spoke of the sovereignty of small nations being assured;[70] Joseph E. Ransdell saw a great spiritual regeneration sweeping over the world and the end of secret diplomacy and alliances; Pat Harrison brought forward ten ways in which the League opponents were deceiving the American people.[71]

Several southerners made able arguments for the Wilson position. Duncan U. Fletcher defended the mandatory system, pointing out that although the United States would share or give up some right to independent action, the sacrifice would be worth making if the fundamental policies were accomplished.[72] Morris Sheppard stated that the League had been drafted with careful regard for the Constitution, that American participation would always remain within the control of Congress insofar as the people desired participation, and that legislation required to make and keep a treaty operative must come from Congress.[73] Oscar W. Underwood, like Woodrow Wilson, argued that Article Ten was the heart of the League, and that mutual defense of nations was the greatest principle of the covenant.[74]

It appears almost impossible to determine just where the convictions of the southern Wilsonians stopped and just where Wilson's influence took over. One thing is certain: these men backed up their President all the way, and they universally praised him in the Senate. It would seem that most of them had strong convictions in favor of the Wilson covenant, but that the people back home exercised important influences in the casting of the southern votes. Southern people, including their Congressmen, were strongly attached to Wilson. After all it was he who had led them to their only victory in national politics in over half a century. They could not easily desert him.

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[69] John H. Bankhead, Thomas S. Martin, William J. Harris, Ellison D. Smith, Nathaniel B. Dial, and Charles A. Culberson made no Senate speeches on the treaty.

[70] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3313-3316.

[71] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3398-3403.
Some of Harrison's charges were that Great Britain would dominate the League, colored peoples would control it, the papacy would run it, and it would take away the rights of American citizens to regulate their own domestic affairs, *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 2940-2946.

[72] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 3096-3100 (July 24, 1919).

[73] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 1431 (June 20, 1919).

[74] *New York Times*, July 16, 1919.

V

There was only one southern Senator in 1919-1920 who may be called an irreconcilable, and he was not consistent in his opposition to the League. The name of John K. Shields, who had supported the Wilson policies until 1918, was frequently linked with the Lodge reservationists and occasionally with the Republican irreconcilables. In 1919 he supported ten of the Lodge reservations, voted for the Lodge resolution of ratification, and opposed the Underwood resolution.[75] Shields felt that the League covenant should be amended so that a government like the British Commonwealth would have only one vote.[76] He strongly believed that the United States should reserve the right to decide questions affecting its honor or vital interests. "I say it is a ignominious proposition," Shields argued, "that we should submit our honor, or a matter of vital interest of our Nation, to a foreign council to be inquired of. We will neither take their advice nor submit to their arbitration as long as we are a free, sovereign, and independent Nation." [77]

This might well have been an irreconcilable talking, but Shields was reservationist enough to support fourteen of the Lodge amendments in 1920. Then for some inexplicable reason the Tennessean reversed himself completely and voted like his southern colleagues against the Lodge resolution of ratification.[78] It seems probable that Shields was a genuine isolationist and that he saw the possibility of keeping his political fenses in repair at home by joining the other southerners in defending Wilson's treaty, while at the same time voting against American entrance into any league.

Thomas W. Hardwick and James K. Vardaman, though not reelected to the Sixty-sixth Congress, seemed headed for the irreconcilable camp. Hardwick raised thirty-three solemn questions concerning the League[79] and declared that it would likely lead the

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[75] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8786, 8803.

[76] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 7679-7680. He offered an amendment to the committee reservation to this effect.

[77] *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., first sess., 8639 (November 17, 1919).

[78] On the day before the final vote Shields had assumed a cautious position. "I think there is a great deal in this treaty that neither the Senate nor the entire treaty making power has a right to do." *Cong. Record,* 66 Cong., second sess., 4505.

[79] Typical Hardwick questions were these: "Are you willing for this republic to become a vassal state?" "Are the American people incapable of self-government?" "Do you believe in the fairies?" "Is there anyone in this country . . . so base as not to be free?" *Cong. Record,* 65 Cong., third sess., 4704.

United States to war. He believed that the League would violate the American Constitution by encroaching upon the treaty-making power of Congress and limiting the right of that body to declare war. There "ought not to be coupled with the conclusion of peace," argued Hardwick, "any other proposition on this earth whatever as an international legislative rider." [80] Vardaman thought the people should decide the fate of the League, but that the government did not have the authority to make treaties superior to the Constitution.[81]

VI

If Shields is included, there were three southern reservationists in November, 1919, and five in March, 1920. The arch-southern reservationist, the man who supported the Lodge reservations second only to Shields, and the southerner who brought forward the most concrete proposals was Hoke Smith.[82] He consistently spoke and voted for ratification—but only with reservations. Even before the President first reached Paris Smith let it be known that he considered it entirely proper for the Senate to give its "advice" on pending treaties.[83]

Some people said that Smith's independent course during the treaty fight resulted from the Smith-Wilson feud of many years' standing. They pointed out how both men as young lawyers hung out their "law shingles" in Atlanta at about the same time. Smith was a "hustler" and prospered, but Wilson, though a gentleman with an abundance of dignity, found few clients.[84] Be that as it may, Smith steadfastly claimed that he believed in the cooperation of nations to preserve peace[85] but that he wanted the United States to enter this League with open eyes.

On the afternoon of October 2, 1919, he rose in the Senate and proposed seven reservations to the League.[86] The Smith reservations were practically all duplicated by those of Lodge. On October 22 Smith informed reporters that the committee reservations

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[80] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 4699.
[81] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., third sess., 3657.
[82] Smith voted for eight of the Lodge reservations in 1919 and for ten in 1920.
[83] *Cong. Record*, 65 Cong., third sess., 77.
[84] Wilson later described Smith to Colonel House as an "ambulance chaser." House insisted that his vote was important though. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 13.
[85] *New York Times*, February 16, 1919.
[86] *New York Times*, October 3, 1919; *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271-6272.

would form a "working basis" from which the Senate "could pick what reservations it desired." [87]

Smith stated that he desired early ratification but that even though the League could help preserve peace, "it could not be hoped that it would help if its very provisions left a certainty of dispute among its members as to what it meant." [88] "If a treaty contains doubtful provisions," continued the Georgian, "they should be made clear in advance of execution. If a treaty contains provisions which we do not expect our Nation in good faith to perform, we should frankly so declare before executing the treaty." [89]

He was in favor of a League based on an organized moral force, but he was critical of Article Ten, which he characterized as a pledge of "lead and sabers." [90] He desired that United States representatives to the League be responsible not to the President but to Congress.[91] He was perhaps the only southerner who sincerely believed in most of the Lodge reservations.

Although several other southern Senators were reported to be in favor of mild reservations from time to time,[92] and although Simmons and Underwood worked hard to achieve a compromise which would have included reservations, there were only three other southerners, Trammell, Fletcher, and Ransdell, who were willing to support the Lodge resolution with its fifteen reservations.[93] The Floridians Trammel and Fletcher each voted for five of the Lodge reservations in 1920, though it is significant that neither supported the Lodge change to Article Ten, the heart of the League.[94] William F. Kirby of Arkansas voted for five of the Lodge reservations in 1920 but refused to support the Lodge resolution of ratification; Joseph E. Ransdell of Louisiana voted for only one of the Committee reservations (Irish self-determination), but he gave his support to final ratification.

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[87] *New York Times*, October 23, 1919.
[88] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271-6272.
[89] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 6271.
[90] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8278.
[91] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8059.
[92] For example see *New York Times*, September 7, 1919, which quoted Simmons, Overman, and Ellison D. Smith as disposed to favor mild reservations.
[93] An interesting parliamentary rules discussion occurred preceding the November vote on ratification when Underwood ineffectively argued that the Senate could not consider the committee reservations before the resolution of ratification. *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 8019-8020 (November 6, 1919).
[94] Fletcher had stated a year before the final rejection of the treaty that despite the fact that he was "a strong believer in the League," there "should be no delay in ratifying the general peace treaty" — "I believe that time will be saved and the settling of the whole issue expedited by the separation of the two matters." *New York Times*, March 13, 1919.

Hoke Smith and Shields, then, were the most extreme of the southern reservationists, while Trammell and Fletcher desired reservations before ratification. These men were a small minority among the southerners, and their actions seem even more independent in view of the steadfast position of a great majority of their colleagues.

VII

In the final analysis it appears that partisanship defeated the League in America.[95] Lodge hated Wilson and was quick to seize upon the League as an instrument to humiliate him. The Republicans followed their leaders, most of whom were reservationists or irreconcilables, while enough Democrats stuck by Wilson to prevent ratification with reservations. Sectionalism was also a factor in the League failure. The Republicans distrusted Wilson because he was a southerner, because southerners were in his cabinet, and because southern Democrats were in control of Congress. They believed Wilson was conspiring to aid the South.[96] Wilson for his part was unwilling to compromise the issue, and regardless of his sturdy southern support was unable to win.

The fact is that the South and her Senators, just as other regions and their Senators, was more than a little confused and ignorant regarding the League. But unlike any other part of the country, it was glad to accept Wilson's guidance and to go down the line with him. As the Greenville (South Carolina) *Piedmont* put it: "The South is heart and soul for the Treaty. It hasn't read it, but it has read some of the speeches of them darned Republicans." [97] The southern Senators might have read the treaty as well as speeches of the "darned Republicans," but they too were heart and soul for the treaty.

The southern Senators were responsible at the last instance for defeating the League in the Senate, but they were more the victims of fate than the authors of premediated action. If the efforts of any one of the southern leaders to arrange a compro-

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[95] Thomas A. Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 39, points out that where the Democratic party was strong the League was strong and vice versa.

[96] This is the opinion of Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 39.
The Greenville (South Carolina) *Piedmont* asserted that "The Senate's chief objection to the League idea is that Wilson is a Democrat." Quoted in Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 42.

[97] Quoted in Bailey, *Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 48.

mise had been successful, it appears that the southerners would have risen in a body, in defiance of Wilson even, to support it.

Wilson had said of the League:

> The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.[98]

The southern Senators, with minor exceptions, were eager to follow this vision, but the path ahead, through no great fault of their own, was not to include the League.

[98] *Cong. Record*, 66 Cong., first sess., 2336-2339 (July 10, 1919).

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 3, 1948

INTRODUCTION

By CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

The forty-eighth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, Friday, December 3, 1948.[1] Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, the North Carolina Society of County Historians, the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Symphony Society, and the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina. At the morning meeting of the Association, with President Alice M. Baldwin of Durham presiding, Dr. George W. Paschal of Wake Forest read a paper, "The Educational Convention of February, 1873, and the Common Schools";[2] Mr. George M. Stephens of Asheville read a paper, "Southern Authors Reveal a Changing South"; and Miss Mary C. Wiley of Winston-Salem gave a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year.

At the evening meeting, with Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville presiding, Dr. Baldwin delivered the presidential address and Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina, gave a talk in which he announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University for his book, *The Growth of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*. The meeting was brought to a close by an address by Mr. John W. Vandercook of New York on the subject, "Is the Marshall Plan Working?"

It is believed that the session was unusually interesting and stimulating, and all the papers and addresses for which copy was

[1] For further information regarding this session, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (January, 1949), no. 1.

[2] The title of this paper appeared on the program, "Development of Interest in the Common Schools of North Carolina, 1860-1890." The title given above, however, is the title Dr. Paschal gave the paper when he revised it for publication.

prepared are published in the pages that follow. The only omission is the address of Mr. Vandercook, which the audience found informative and worth-while but which cannot be included with the other papers because the speaker used only notes and did not write out his address.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION OF FEBRUARY, 1873, AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS

By GEORGE W. PASCHAL

With your good will, I am sure, I am undertaking to discuss only a small part of the subject, "Development of Interest in the Common Schools of North Carolina, 1868-1890," as announced on the program. Fortunately, it is not necessary that the whole subject be treated, since Dr. Edgar W. Knight has already ably discussed it in his excellent *Public School Education in North Carolina.* I am only adding some supplementary matter gathered from sources which seem not to have been available to Dr. Knight or Dr. M. C. S. Noble or to others who have written on our educational history. Of several such untreated topics, I discuss only one, the first in chronological order, the Educational Convention which met in the First Baptist Church of Raleigh on Tuesday, February 11, 1873, and continued through the Wednesday and Thursday following. I venture to declare that this was one of the most important educational meetings ever held in North Carolina, possibly the most important. And this is true as regards both the discussions in the meeting and the results.

The convention was designed primarily to open a campaign to raise $100,000 as an endowment for Wake Forest College, but in issuing the call for the meeting the president of the College, Dr. W. M. Wingate, said: "It will be observed that the call is not for a single object—the endowment of Wake Forest College—but the design is to move, if possible, the whole denomination in the State to an interest in every form of education."

It was of free public schools that Wingate was thinking, and he made it clear in numerous statements in the *Biblical Recorder* in the weeks preceeding the meeting that he was convinced that the welfare and even the continued existence of Wake Forest College and other colleges of the state depended upon the establishment of good elementary schools. In the *Biblical Recorder* of December 12, 1872, he said: "The movement for the endowment of Wake Forest College must not begin for that alone, and certainly it must not end there. A deep interest in one enterprise

will naturally awaken thought on the general subject of education. But this incidental effect is not enough. Our need is too serious; our want is too pressing. We must awaken our interest in the school house and the school master. Our apathy in this direction is coming to be a grave matter. What can the colleges do without more and better neighborhood schools? And what can these last accomplish without a spirit of education among our people? Who can speak? Who can write? Let them to the work. We must increase the number and efficiency of our schools: boys and girls must be trained. All along through our borders from the seaboard to the mountains EDUCATION must be the watchword."

Again in a later issue of the *Recorder* Wingate said: "The teachers of our male and female schools must come (to the Convention) for the movement would fail of half its effect, if a deeper interest in education itself was not promoted. . . . The active leading laymen must come, for they may tell us how to form and establish schools in the neighborhoods. While carrying forward the great movement of endowing our College and thus giving us means of enlarging and perfecting plans for the highest culture, we must not forget that the true foundation upon which high school and college instruction is built, is the perfection of earlier and preparatory training in the local schools scattered through our towns and rural districts. Can there not be an interest awakened in all these directions at once? Can we not carry them together as parts of a great whole?"

As one reads these words of Wingate one can understand why his contemporaries so often spoke of his wisdom. A further manifestation of his wisdom was his choice of men he associated with himself on the committee whose duty it was to prepare a program and provide for the Educational Convention. Among those on that committee were two able and practical business men of Raleigh, W. H. Heck and John G. Williams, who a few years later showed their interest in education by erecting the building which today houses the Wake Forest College Library and its School of Law, the first important building erected on any North Carolina college campus after the War between the States. Another was Ex-Governor W. W. Holden, then Raleigh postmaster, through whose influence the building of the present

Raleigh postoffice was begun. Others on that committee were Dr. T. H. Pritchard, pastor of the Raleigh Baptist Church; J. H. Mills, then editor of the *Biblical Recorder*, and later the founder of two orphan asylums, the Oxford Orphanage and the Baptist Orphanage at Thomasville, now called "Mills Home" in his honor; W. T. Brooks, president of the Baptist State Convention; W. H. Avera; and J. L. Stewart.

It was an excellent program that this committee prepared—seven meetings—one on Tuesday evening, February 11, 1873, and three each on Wednesday and Thursday, and every meeting was to be addressed on some live educational topic by men of recognized ability. All friends of education in the state were urged to attend. The railroads co-operated by offering half-fares.

In order to recommend the educational meeting, Dr. Pritchard had this to say in the *Biblical Recorder* two weeks before its assembling:

> Many of our wisest and best men are much interested in our Convention. Ex-Governor Graham [then in charge of the Peabody Fund in North Carolina] assured the writer a few days since, that so far as other educational interests were concerned, North Carolina is in worse condition than she has been in forty years, and that he was profoundly interested in the meeting on that account. Other public men have expressed much gratification at the calling of the Convention and have promised to attend and take part in the deliberations.
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> Dr. Barnas Sears will be with us. He is the agent of the Peabody Fund, and has resided at Staunton, Virginia, for the past three years. Dr. Sears is one of the most venerable and striking-looking men I have ever seen, and is regarded by all who know him as one of the wisest, best educated, and most irreproachable men in America. His ability and especially his experience will be of great service to us in our meeting. He was at one time head of the public school system in Massachusetts, and resigned the presidency of Brown University to take his present position [with the Peabody Fund.]

Dr. Sears had been secured to speak on the public schools. For the discussion of that topic, the best place on the program, Wednesday evening, was given. To the meeting of that evening on special invitation came the members of the two houses of the General Assembly, then in session. Following the plan of the exercises for all meetings, the discussion began with a paper.

This was by Rev. N. B. Cobb, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, a prominent Baptist minister, an accurate writer on historical topics, and one of the state's best scholars and clearest thinkers. The subject of his paper was "The Present Condition of Education in North Carolina; What can be done by the Baptists to improve it?"

The condition of education as Dr. Cobb revealed it was appalling. Doubtless there was a startled look in the eyes of every person in that great audience when the reader, quoting from the figures of the United States Census of 1870 and the report of Alexander McIver, Superintendent of Public Instruction, made such statements as these: "We have in this State 268,000 children of school age, 182,690 white, 85,239 colored, and 396 Indian, and less than 58,000 of all these, less than 1 in 4½ [we would say today, less than 22 per cent] are going to public and private schools." What was even more startling, doubtless, to many in that audience, was Dr. Cobb's statement that a larger per cent of colored than of white children were shown by the Census of 1870 to be attending school in North Carolina. Especially disquieting to the Baptists present was his demonstration that as many as 50,000 of the 100,000 members of Baptists churches in North Carolina, full one-half, could not read and write. And then he went on to say:

> If you can look on these figures and not see the necessity for arousing our people on the subject of education, you can do more than I can do. Then ask yourselves, if the Baptists have in their ranks 50,000 persons who cannot read and write, ought they not to be waked up, thoroughly waked up to the importance of education?

This was only a glance at the appalling educational conditions of North Carolina as Dr. Cobb found them portrayed in the United States Census and the reports of Superintendent of Public Instruction Alexander McIver.

I must stop here a minute to pay due tribute to that able and faithful, and courageous public servant, Superintendent Alexander McIver. A graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1853, he had served on the faculty both of his alma mater and of Davidson College as professor of mathematics.

In September, 1871, Governor Caldwell appointed him to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction in place of S. S. Ashley, resigned, and he continued in office until January 1, 1875, when—shame to the party in whose creed I was suckled—he was displaced by a man who proved to be an embezzler. During McIver's years of service he had to struggle against the indifference and even the hostility of many of the state's most prominent and influential men, and to suffer also from lack of co-operation. He received reports from only forty-six counties in 1872 and only sixty-three in 1873. But he never relaxed in his arduous labors for the schools. He was able too. His reports as Superintendent of Public Instruction will challenge comparison with any other public documents ever issued by the state.

To return now to Dr. Cobb. As announced, the first part of his paper discussed the condition of education in North Carolina. In the second part he sought to answer the question, "What can be done by the Baptists about it?" That something should be done was agreed to by all who heard that paper. Among those was the famous Josiah Turner, Jr., then editor of the *Daily Sentinel,* who said editorially on February 16: "Our entire state should be awaked to the real state of things; our best men should take the field and our best minds should work out a system that can be operated for diffusing the blessings of intelligence to the citizens of the state."

Dr. Cobb, however, did not forget that he was in a Baptist meeting, and he talked very straight to the Baptists, putting the obligation on them, and saying: "It is plain that something should be done—done by the Baptists—and done *speedily* by the Baptists to improve the present condition of education among us."

"What is that something which should be done?" asked Cobb. I propose to give in outline his answer to that question, for it proved to be a program of action the Baptists have followed from that moment, and which immediately proved effective in creating interest in education. It was followed by the numerous preachers and teachers, both in academies and Sunday schools, editors of papers, and progressive laymen and women who returned from that educational convention to their work in all sections of the state. It was followed by the organized workers in the campaign

for the endowment of Wake Forest College, who went forth soon after that convention and sought to reach every Baptist association, every church, and every individual Baptist in North Carolina. It was probably the greatest educational campaign ever conducted in North Carolina.

Here are Cobb's proposals, for the most part in his own language:

1. Create a public interest among our people in favor of general education. . . . Let the voice of the living minister be heard in every village and hamlet, in every church and Sunday school from Dare to Cherokee, setting forth the imperative necessity for an educated church membership as well as an educated ministry.

Let those who can read take the *Biblical Recorder,* one of our most valuable educators and the cheapest, and read it to those who cannot read.

2. Establish and sustain Sunday schools in every church and secure the attendance of every Baptist in the Sunday school either as teacher or as scholar. In no other way can we readily reach the adult illiterates in our churches. Let every one of them —the illiterates—be impressed with the idea that it is his Christian *duty* to learn to read that he may study God's word for himself.

3. Encourage common schools. We are impelled to this by patriotism and self-interest as well as by Christianity. In a government like ours, where every citizen is invested with the right of suffrage, and may aspire to the dignity of a ruler, every citizen should have the advantage of an education.

Such in brief was Dr. Cobb's great paper, but many of the people of the state were able soon to read it in its entirety, for it was published not only in the *Biblical Recorder,* but also in a number of other papers of the state, sometimes with statements of editorial approval, and propositions of their own, such as this:

1. Let the friends of learning see that a school is put in reach of every child of suitable age to attend.

2. Let us vote an increase of taxation to sustain public schools all the year.

3. Let papers publish articles and public men deliver addresses on education and show the evils of ignorance and the benefits of learning.[1]

All this with reference to Dr. Cobb's paper. However, that paper was not intended to be the main feature of the program of that evening. The people were there to hear the great educator of international reputation, Dr. Barnas Sears. It is not recorded what he said, but when he was done, there were a dozen men on their feet wanting to be heard. As it was late, further discussion was postponed until the next day, when the consideration of the subject was continued in all three of the meetings, taking much of the time assigned to other important topics. Dr. Sears was present at them all, ready to answer questions. To the evening meeting at seven o'clock came Daniel Moreau Barringer, former United States Ambassador to Spain, and at that time chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. He came for the express purpose of endorsing the statements of Dr. Sears in favor of public schools.

But the matter did not end there. We have seen that the members of the legislature were invited and attended the meeting on Wednesday night. The next day both houses invited Dr. Sears to address them in joint session on Friday night at seven-thirty o'clock. Less than two weeks later, on February 26, 1873, they ratified an entirely new education law.[2] Superintendent Alexander McIver considered this new law a great improvement. In one respect, surely, it was a great improvement, for it increased the tax assessment for public schools twenty-three per cent, from six and two-thirds cents to eight and one-third cents on the hundred dollars valuation, and provided that a much larger per cent of the poll tax should go to the public school fund. In two years the number of children in the public schools and the amount expended on them were three times as large as they had been.

Probably as a new manifestation of the interest excited by the Educational Convention in February was a second State Educational Convention, called by the State Board of Education, which assembled in Raleigh in July of the same year, and took measures looking to the reopening of the State University and also for

[1] *Biblical Recorder*, May 12, 1873.
[2] *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1872-73*, chap. xc.

furthering the interest in the public schools. Of this convention Dr. Knight has written. I say nothing more than that many who had a part in the February convention had a part in this July convention also. In fact the demand for the reopening of the State University was violent in the February convention, as it had been in the *Biblical Recorder* long before. During all these years the columns of this most widely circulated paper in the state were freely used by the alumni and other friends of the University in their efforts to save it and have it restored to its former status. In it all they had the lively sympathy of the editor, the redoubtable Jack Mills, who with characteristic vigor joined in the fight. He was outraged when a part of the campus was lost, and it was due to him as much as to any other person that the entire University plant was not sold for conversion into a denominational institution. He was quick to see that danger and quick to fight it.

SOUTHERN AUTHORS REVEAL A CHANGING SOUTH

By George Myers Stephens

Those of you who secretly or openly practice the vice of book collecting should take heed of the place it might lead you—to the platform if not to the scaffold.

The vice which landed me on this platform was just a mild one—trying to find all the books on pioneers in the southern mountains. By chance I received the leaflet of a little-known Kentucky publishing house announcing a facsimile of the Filson edition of Daniel Boone's narrative. Price only a dollar fifty.

This happy discovery raised the speculation as to how many other book collectors—and buyers of new books as well—might welcome a bulletin on books published in the South, especially those not mentioned in the national book reviews. A little encouragement from book publishing friends fanned the idea into action, and so *The Southern Packet* was launched. What served most to grease the runways was not having to pay cash for the printing, since it was done in my own publishing plant.

In its June, 1945, issue, *The Packet's* purpose was stated in these words:

"*The Southern Packet* sets forth on its maiden voyage this month to do one thing: to make southern books easy to find.

"*The Packet* grew out of individual efforts to find what books are being published in and about the South. We are delighted to discover the number and variety of books which form ever widening streams of thinking, writing and publishing below the Mason and Dixon line.

"But like most rivers of the South, the streams of good books from the growing southern university presses, publishing houses and private printers have flowed their separate courses, each southerner knowing little of the other's achievements.

"*The Southern Packet* proposes to travel these publishing courses, bringing in the good news. It proposes to make easy the finding and buying of books on the Southern Region. It proposes to act as a clearing house on notices of books published, to print competent reviews of books of regional interest and to present

as rapidly as possible a complete bibliography of recently published works on the South."

It is interesting to discover that this idea of a meeting of minds through the printed page was beautifully achieved in volume I of the State Historical Commission's publications. Covering the period from this association's organization in 1900, through the year 1905, volume I brings together the thoughts of a dynamic new generation of North Carolinians. Fifty-two contributions are listed, each from the pen of a man or woman who had a part in our state's progress during the past fifty years.

Edward P. Moses heads the list, followed by F. A. Olds, Francis D. Winston, and Clarence H. Poe. Soon follow two governors: Glenn on industrial progress and Aycock on education. Kemp P. Battle writes on "The Rebirth of the University," W. C. Smith on "The North Carolina State and Industrial College," and E. W. Sikes on "The Genesis of Wake Forest College." Last comes Stephen B. Weeks' description of his notable collection of North Caroliniana and R. D. W. Connor's report on Captain Ashe's *Biographical History of North Carolina.* In a striking fashion this one volume brings into focus the cultural resources of a people ready to move forward. That this meeting of minds was followed by half a century of unusual progress is now a matter of history.

But when, forty years later, *The Southern Packet* proposed to aid each month such a meeting of minds for a whole region with similar conditions and problems, one friendly newspaper editor questioned the wisdom of any project which might continue to make the South conscious of itself. This is a fair question. It could be answered best by reviewing the various regions of the United States.

He would see New England with its metropolis at Boston, a meeting place not only of commerce but also of ideas. He would see for the Middle Atlantic states the same sort of focal point for ideas in New York. For the Mid-West he would see Chicago, for the Far West San Francisco. But in the South he would see no metropolis. Instead, he would see scores of smaller cities and towns, scattered over an area suggesting the back of an outspread human hand. From the lofty central knuckles of the Appalachian Highlands the great land segments and their valleys

stretch southward and eastward like fingers to the seaport cities around the rim of the region. No one undisputed crossroads of commerce, no one center of education, no one dominant metropolitan newspaper to bind the ideas of the region together as an articulate part of the nation.

Perhaps our editor might say that until the South catches up with the rest of the nation, every legitimate means, including regional publications, must be used to bring the best thinking of the region into focus on the task of getting from where we are to where we should be.

This focusing of ideas is successfully going on already in special fields. Bankers, sociologists, doctors, historians have their regional journals. One native North Carolinian is publishing in Atlanta ten trade journals ranging from jewelry to paper making.

It is the layman of the Southern region, the people who must pay the taxes and make the public decisions, who need a clearing house for ideas. And that is the need which *The Southern Packet* seeks to serve.

The first cargo for *The Packet,* and still one of the most important, consisted of reviews of the good historical, literary, and social studies from the university presses of nearly every state in the South. Under the leadership of such men as Howard W. Odum, the South has measured, classified, scrutinized, and inwardly digested itself as no other part of the world ever has. In addition, scores of smaller studies and pamphlets, novels, books of poetry, and privately printed titles deserve brief description each month in classified lists which are accumulated into a booklist supplement each December. In three and a half years the total of titles reported will approach a thousand.

The experiment of surveying occasionally a special field such as library service, southern books, or politics has met with such favorable response that it will be continued. Because the personalities of authors and other creative thinkers can mirror the region as truly as facts, *The Packet* has been experimenting cautiously with personal sketches, the subjects thus far being Thomas Wolfe, Olive Tilford Dargan, and Carl Sandburg. Fields of information just being developed include reading outlines for students and clubs, reporting of social innovations and changes,

and reporting of research in progress of interest to the business man. A monthly column reports authors' work nearing completion.

The Packet's circulation to subscribers has been built on the conservative theory that the real measure of its value is the number of people and institutions willing to pay for it. It has grown past its first thousand subscribers. The largest single group is laymen, about equally divided between men and women. Libraries rank next, followed by several professional groups, publishing houses, and colleges. North Carolina leads in number of subscribers, followed by states of the upper South, then the lower South, then New York and Pennsylvania. Altogether, thirty-nine states are represented. A continued upward change in circulation is naturally the main change desired by the publisher from this changing South.

Now to look at the changes in the South since the turn of the century. Though we are still largely a rural people, the tractor and its brood of farm machinery enable fewer farmers to feed us and clothe us. So our growing farm families provide three times the youths needed, and they turn toward the towns. For every boy and girl who stays on the farm, twice as many enter the adventure of a new way of life in town. Whereas for the nation the growth of towns has been at a fairly steady rate, the growth of towns in the South has been at three times the national rate.

Out of this urban movement comes the second great change, a rise in the standard of living. The physical comforts and the desirability of having more of them are part of the adventure of moving to town.

And out of the desire to insure more comforts and pleasures of a material sort for each child in this new adventure comes the third change: fewer children. The good old family of eight or ten is a matter of remark in town, as it was common place in the country.

Why was it possible to leave the farm in the South? Because factories wanted more workers, and stores wanted clerks to serve factory workers. In the growth of industry lies the foundation for this great adventure in the lives of several million rural southerners. From Virginia to Alabama and up into the head-

waters of the Tennessee, the shoals that hindered the pioneers became the water power for the first factories. As the twentieth century dawned, the southern piedmont had built up enough capital and enough technical knowledge to develop the water power of whole river valleys, and to stretch electric lines a hundred miles to either side. There were cotton and timber at hand to make cloth and furniture, and always the farm boy and girl ready to take a job for cash each week.

Out of these main changes have come other changes for the South's people today. None is more striking than in more schooling for more children. Whereas in the nation the enrollment of school-age children increased during the first third of the century by about fifteen per cent, in the South it increased by about thirty per cent. In enrollment of all children of high school age in the same period the South's rate of growth was not double the nation's, but twenty-fold. Across the land this new chance for a high school education represents a sort of social revolution, the equalizing of opportunity implied in the American dream.

In the training for leadership associated with college, the South's rate of growth has outrun the nation's. Using the listings of eminent persons in *Who's Who In America,* Dr. Vance in his book, *All These People,* demonstrates that the South has increased both its proportionate part of eminent people born in the region and of those moving into it. Likewise the South shows a more rapid rate in increase in the proportion of professionally trained persons. This higher training, in turn, affects the welfare of the whole people, as our State Medical Care Commission's recent report showed in the field of health. Thus the spread of training in technology speeds up the use of machines and scientific methods. In turn these speed up the rate of change in way of living for our great rural population.

Though the timing in these changes the South has brought a significant improvement in living to the American scene. The good roads movement already mentioned got well under way before the major period of industrialization. And lines from the power dams spread a network through the piedmont.

The result was that after 1920 most of the factories were built well outside the larger towns and even in the open country. With the improvement of secondary roads and the extension of electric

lines to serve homes, industrial life became mainly a matter of living on the farm and riding to work by auto or bus.

In this feature of southern industrial life may well lie the South's major contribution to social progress. That man's productivity is far greater when joined with the factory's machine power and its organization goes without saying. It is the foundation for a rising standard of living.

When this is coupled with the wholesome features of a rural environment for the worker's growing family, a new combination has been achieved. It is not simply a matter of sunshine, space, and freedom during childhood's growth. It is the preserving—albeit modified—of the folkways of generations which promises stability and peace to the southern worker above all his fellows. Even with the changes that do occur when the farm family turns industrial, there is far less of harmful uprooting than our industrial growth has required heretofore.

Perhaps one other feature of industrialization is worth noting in the South of recent years. Factories have sprung up so fast that the region has drawn in substantial numbers of technicians and managers from the north and even from abroad. Because both their business interest and tastes call for entering into the life of the community, these newcomers have generally added a fresh outlook.

In our changing social fabric the life of the Negro third of our people is being altered in ways so different that they must be noted separately. For the Negro, the feature not yet changed is the one which brought most of the other changes for the white population—the growth of industry. With certain notable exceptions, southern factories have not opened up new work opportunities for the Negro.

But as a by-product of industrial growth in the South, service occupations in southern towns have drawn tens of thousands of Negroes from the farm. Though living conditions can hardly be described as better for a large part of these migrants, they receive more cash in a month than many saw on the farm in a year.

In opportunity for public school education they appear in at least two states, Kentucky and North Carolina, to be approaching the standards available to white children. Even in the deep South are heard rumblings of the doctrine of equal school oppor-

tunities for all. As compared with the region's increase of about twentyfold in white high school students, the Negro increase has been about one hundredfold between 1900 and 1938. On the college level it may be interesting to know that with about eight thousand students in North Carolina, the Negro's share in total number compares favorably with his proportion of the state's total population.

The appearance in southern cities of large communities of Negroes has been followed by their development of service occupations such as neighborhood stores, taxi companies, bus companies, and even insurance companies. Thus we see a growing Negro middle class with doctors, dentists, professors, and a sprinkling of lawyers.

Finally, a substantial part of the race has moved from the South. Whether he who moved or he who stayed has made the better choice is a question we may soon have the chance to answer.

To take a broad glance at changes in southern life, the standard of living is rising and families are growing smaller as farm youth moves into towns and into industry. The trend is toward a healthier balance between farm and factory, between rural and urban life. Travel and communication are vastly greater. Try venturing on a highway any Saturday during the football season. Public works and social services as well as education have grown prodigiously in the past quarter century, especially in the upper South. And the Negro's change is at a far more rapid rate as he moves into the main stream of the region's and the nation's life.

A general parallel can be seen between the changing South and the increase of its writers on such tangible subjects as factories, crops, people, schools, and history. In this field of non-fiction writing, cause and effect have marched side by side. Where non-fiction writing has been scarce, so have been economic and social change. Conversely, those states of the deep South whose way of life has changed but little support few non-fiction writers. Social studies are scarce as snowballs in Mississippi.

But fiction writing is different. Let us borrow an illustration from another field of art.

Guided by a human eye and human insight, the hand of the portrait painter can record a human personality far better than mathematically exact methods might do. And when we would paint in words the portraits of a region's people, the pen of the fiction writer can often excel all others. For this reason our inquiry into the nature of today's changing South should lean heavily on the novelist, the short story writer, the dramatist, and the poet.

But here we run into difficulty. While it is true that an expanding economy should furnish leisure as the first requisite for a writer, two unpredictable elements seem important. One is the writer's emotional conditioning to achieve the drive and the human insight needed to picture his characters in universal terms. The other is the writer's native ability or genius. In scattering the seeds of genius, Mother Nature has played her little jokes. Some have sprouted in the most sheltered households, and some in the most desperate.

Recently a Mississippi state archives staff member tossed into the teeth of the too-free critics of her state a few names, including Eudora Welty, William Alexander Percy, William Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, James Street, Ben Ames Williams, Elizabeth Spencer, David Donald, Stark Young, Hodding Carter, and David L. Cohn. No curve on the state's economic graphs could follow this literary rainbow.

But we might find a clue or two worth tracing in this fiction mystery. Like Sherlock Holmes we might start with an obvious fact. While a useful non-fiction study might be published by a subsidy or grant, this rarely happens for the fiction writer. What he writes must interest enough of fiction's regular buyers to make a profitable size edition salable.

For the first fifty years after the Civil War, the southern writer's devastation was as severe as the farmer's or the industrial worker's. The same forces which burned the factories and stripped the farms wrecked southern writer's work tools. But early in the twentieth century a new palette came into the hands of the southern painter of fiction—naturalism. It is a technique which heightens contrasts—the ludicrous and the sordid in human life. It was of greatest use to authors who knew the backwaters of the South. William Faulkner's pictures from his early

life in Mississippi are the works of a master of naturalism. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* must surely have reached through this medium a universal quality—albeit distasteful to southerners—when the dramatized version ran on Broadway for some ten years.

Another clue to the trend of fiction in the region lies in the book market. It is not southern book buyers who keep southern fiction writers alive. It is readers in the northeast and the middle states. Such a group of readers will take an occasional book by a southern realist if there is drama in it. We can be thankful that the South has not committed as many lynchings as its authors have in recent years. But for this same group of readers the story of a rising urban family holds less interest. The ground has already been well worked early and late, from William Dean Howells, past Booth Tarkington to Sinclair Lewis. Likewise the story of the rural family adjusting its ideals to changing standards is an old tale for the book market—ably worked by Edna Ferber and many others.

In this market situation for the novelist and in this half-century lateness of the South in growing urban and industrial we find one answer as to why our changing South is not fully revealed by its fiction writers, at least to a wide reading public.

To these general statements on fiction we can happily find many exceptions among southern writers. Their success is generally the result of good material extremely well handled. Any tale is interesting in the hands of the right story teller. Margaret Mitchell and Thomas Wolfe carry their readers through hundreds of pages by the sheer fascination of what they have to say.

There is some evidence that southern fiction is improving in quality, if a best seller record is an indication. Frank Luther Mott's story of best sellers, *Golden Multitudes,* listed no titles by southern authors in this century prior to 1936, but in the ten years that followed, three novels and one non-fiction book won top place in a year's sales.

One area of middle ground should be mentioned: biography. The South has produced a sizeable share of good biographers. Many consider Douglas Southall Freeman the leading American in this field today. But the great work has been almost wholly on personalities of history—not of today's world. The changing

South of today is not in general the biographer's field just yet, though we find a notable exception in *Tar Heel Editor,* by one who helped to change the South. But the biographer shares the fiction writer's problem of writing books that will sell in a book market largely eastern and mid-western. When he tells a life story already well told a generation earlier in other regions, the publisher's appreciative note of rejection must be his main reward.

What fields are promising ones for the novelist and the biographer? What subjects will interest the main book market because of their meaning in our national life, yet are known best to southern authors? The answer should be found in those important changes taking place in the South in advance of the rest of the nation.

The significant feature is the passing of masses of farm people into industry without changing their rural ways of home life. Because this change is not a dramatic one, the writer who would suceed with it must have more than ordinary talent for picturing the beauty and the deeper satisfactions of life.

The story of the outlander who comes South will likewise be a field for both fiction and biography. Perhaps the viewpoint of the outlander will make him more successful than the native in telling this story of change.

Still one other field holds great promise for the southern writer, because of its meaning to the nation. This is the story of the new Negro, with his growing business and professional class. Here is opportunity for the drama of change, the tragedies and the triumphs of the Negro as he proceeds cautiously—sometimes incautiously—into the realm of full citizenship. Perhaps the Negro himself will tell this story, as Richard Wright did so well for his youth of desperate poverty in *Black Boy.* Perhaps the white writer with really objective thinking will add as Catherine Dupré Lumpkin did in *The Making of A Southerner.* From whatever source, this exchange of ideas between white and Negro will surely release new talents in a race just awakening. The insight that authors can bring is sorely needed so that the two races may harmonize their ideals and work for the best future of the region.

And now one final note on these changing times for the people of still another race, the Cherokee Indians at the foot of the Great Smokies. The efforts of Col. William H. Thomas, their adopted white chief, saved these intelligent people from extinction after the great removal a hundred years ago. A watchful nation has protected their old way of life and permitted self-government through their tribal council. A friend of mine who is their legal advisor met with their council on a Saturday afternoon two weeks ago tomorrow.

During this council session an Indian message bearer brought in a folded paper to the tribal hall and handed it to the first member seated in the circle. The Cherokee read the message without a change of expression. He handed it solemnly to the next member, Andy Saunook, Lloyd Runningwolf, and so on past the chief, around to the other end of the circle to my lawyer friend. He opened and read the message: "At the end of the first half: Duke nothing, Carolina nothing." This is the changing South.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW

By Mary Callum Wiley

In completing my reading for the Mayflower Cup contest I feel as if I had come through a semester of college work—hard work under thorough masters—on the present status of the intellectual life of North Carolina.

The reading of these books submitted for the 1948 Mayflower award has been most stimulating to my intellectual growth; I confess that some of the books were too deep for me; that some of them dealt with matter about which I had little personal point of contact; that the sordid realism of the works of fiction at times marred my enjoyment of the reading. Yet on the whole, the reading of these books of varying types, of wide ranges of subject matter, has opened up to me new fields of thought, given me profound respect for the scholarly, painstaking professors of history and of literature in our North Carolina institutions of higher learning, a deeper appreciation of the contributions they and the other North Carolina men and women of letters are making to the cultural progress of our state.

It is not my purpose this morning to analyze for you the twenty-six books submitted for the 1948 Mayflower award. I am no expert in the reviewing of books, neither am I a literary critic; I am just a plain lover of books, and as such I have come to talk with you, in a very informal way, about the books on the 1948 Mayflower list which are of special interest to me.

I trust that my selection of the nine or more of the twenty-six books will not lead you to think that the books I have omitted are of small literary or historical value. Indeed, I feel sure that the other members of the award committee will in many instances differ with me as to the outstanding books of the list.

Among the books about which I shall talk is the book chosen by the majority vote of the award committee as the outstanding literary production of the year. I hope that in my enthusiasm I shall say nothing that will give away the great secret which is to be publicly announced tonight—the 1948 winner of the Mayflower Cup.

It has been no easy task deciding upon the outstanding book of the twenty-six, presenting as they do a wide range of literary production—fiction, history, social and economic studies, literary and musical criticism, essays sermons, poetry—and requiring in their appraisal standards of widely differing skills.

For instance, the historical studies or those dealing with social or economic questions, ranging in subject matter from *Research Management* to *The Papacy and European Diplomacy,* from Dr. Odum's *Understanding Society* to Dr. Sydnor's *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*—must be judged by their evidence of scholarly research, of keen assimilation of facts. On the other hand, the works of fiction must be judged by their "artistic simplicity," which, someone has said, is a part of greatness"; the poetry, by its appeal to the imagination, its beauty of thought and phrasing.

The difficulty lies in deciding whether the best historical work should be given precedence over the outstanding novel, or the stimulating book of sermons, or the verse "rich in simple living," showing "rare heights of beauty."

There are two rather unusual works submitted this year for appraisal: one narrowed to the field of the trained musician, William S. Newman's original study of keyboard sonata history—*Thirteen Key Board Sonatas of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries;* the other of interest to the student of French, Robert White Linker's new edition of a manuscript of the thirteenth century by an unknown author—*Aucassin et Nicolet*—presented to the reader in the original Old French.

It is of peculiar interest to me that two of the Mayflower books of the year have been written by former high school students of mine: *The Leaf Against the Sky* by Paul Ader and *The Hunter's Horn* by Peirson Ricks; and a third book, *Pilgrims Through Space and Time* by a young man who began his teaching days in my department of English of the R. J. Reynolds High School, Winston-Salem, Dr. J. O. Bailey, now of the University of North Carolina department of English.

Dr. Bailey has chosen for his study a very unusual subject—a search into the literature of the weird and supernatural, the literature dealing with the experiments of men of science in

changing human behaviour, in causing animals to take on the nature of man.

Peirson Ricks and Paul Ader in their beginning novels give promise of future work. Both present North Carolina scenes. Paul Ader gives the impression of a personal, intimate knowledge of the places and people about whom he is writing as he unfolds his story of a youth brought up in the strict atmosphere of a Methodist parsonage struggling to reconcile old and new loyalties. Peirson Ricks builds his plot around the conflict of the social elements in a rural community of eastern North Carolina.

In fiction my taste often runs counter to the stark realism of so many of the novels of the day which are acclaimed best sellers. Having read no review of *Tomorrow Will Be Better,* I picked up the book, I must confess, with strong feelings that I would not like it. But from the opening chapter to the very end of the story—a depressing, realistic story of the Brooklyn Betty Smith knows so well—I was held by the "artistic simplicity" with which the author wrote, her evident sincerity and sympathetic understanding of the people about whom she was writing.

A little child one day in talking to her mother about a favorite book said she liked the book because the story people made her like them. The men and women in Fielding Burke's *Sons of the Stranger* make me like them and recognize, in spite of the sordid details of their lives, their inherent nobility of character in the heroic struggle they make throughout their moving, tragic lives. Beautifully written, *Sons of the Stranger* is a book that will live —a book that will find its place in the classification Ruskin once made, "Books for All Time."

For beauty of diction, clear flowing style Dr. Henry Louis Smith's *This Troubled Century* is a book I like to dip into again and again. No matter upon what subject Dr. Smith is speaking, with his characteristic manner of speech, vigorous and polished, he draws the attention to whatever he has to say. He speaks, and with authority, upon a wide range of topics and to various classes of hearers—on practical everyday matters of conduct to college boys; in cultural gatherings he gives philosophical interpretation of world events or discusses such men as Luther or Robert E. Lee, with rare insight into their characters; in dealing with

matters of scientific investigation, reverently he opens up to his hearers "the glorious landscapes of the imagination."

Berlin Reparations Assignment, for an understanding of "the slow and painful process in the negotiation of a German reparations settlement," for a candid view of Soviet diplomacy, merits a wide reading. The very fact that the book is, as the authors, Professors B. U. Ratchford and William D. Ross of Duke University, state in their preface, "primarily a personal account of what they saw, what they did, and some of the impressions they received" makes the book of special interest and value. This personal viewpoint makes us see the stress under which the authors performed their daily tasks, due in part to the recurring shortages of pencils and typewriters, coal, gasoline. How embarrassing it was to the two Americans, at the end of a wearying committee meeting, to have to stand on the corner waiting for a hitch-ride while their fellow committeemen from Great Britain, France, and Russia "rode off in American lend-lease vehicles, on American lend-lease gasoline." As the authors describe their work from day to day, they give revealing glimpses of the kind of men they had to deal with—the French delegations, inclined time and time again to side with the delegation from Russia and so, perhaps not intentionally, blocking whatever move the Americans were trying to make; tough, stubborn, impulsive General Clay; smooth-tongued Soviet diplomats, armed with a definite plan from Moscow and determined against all odds to push that plan through—Soviets trained in the art of "selling the same horse twice"—and usually at a higher price the second time.

For the subject of her study Lilliam Parker Wallace could not have chosen a more involved and highly controversial question than the one treated in her scholarly work—*The Papacy and European Diplomacy: 1869-1878.* With remarkable clarity, in spite of the depth of the subject and the fact that most of the documentary material, both primary and secondary sources, had to be translated from foreign tongues, and in a spirit of fairness and unbiased candor the author discusses not the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state but the relations of the states with each other as affected by the policies of that Church.

Notwithstanding the fact that from its very nature a work of this kind makes its appeal to the trained historian rather than to the lay reader, I found the book stimulating in that it opened up to me a new and wide field of thought. I was especially interested in the sections devoted to the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility and the "war of civilization" it brought on—"the struggle of modern liberal, scientific culture against ecclesiastical slavery." As Bismarck pointed out, "the struggle was not the struggle of an evangelical dynasty against the Catholic Church, nor between belief and unbelief, but an old struggle, as old as the race, between priestly and kingly power."

While the teaching of English over a long period of years has been a joy and an inspiration to me, my spare time has been freely given to the searching of the annals of the past, especially of my own section and state, delving into time-stained manuscripts and books. And so the books of history on the list, every one of them showing painstaking, accurate research, make their appeal to me. Naturally, since my forebears grew up under the Presbyterian atmosphere of old Guilford County, the preaching of David Caldwell and Eli Caruthers, I read with interest John W. Simpson's *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Greensboro*—a church springing from David Caldwell's old Alamance and Buffalo churches of Guilford County.

While it is true that this book is limited in interest to a narrow circle of readers, it is of value in that it not only contributes to the religious history of our state, but with its wealth of personal detail, its intimate glimpses of the people of one locality and faith, it fits in with the all-around picture of North Carolina. present and past.

Those who like informal, fireside chats as it were about old times and present time, men and also "notable spinsters" of bygone days, will find Edward H. Davis's *Historical Sketches of Franklin County* delightful reading. The early citizens of Franklin, old records show, were "men of handsome information and eager after knowledge." Indeed it was only eight years after the formation of the county that they established an academy "with great advantages to the State in general and to the County of Franklin in particular." The one interest—education—Mr. Davis declares, has characterized the history and growth of Franklin

County more than any other and so he devotes much space to the early schools and school teachers of the county. Preachers, Methodist preachers especially, likewise through the years made their impress upon the county. One of these old-timey preachers, "Uncle Jimmy Reid," who had the distinction of having both a son and a grandson members of the conference at the same time with himself, had such a wonderful voice that all he had to do when he ascended the pulpit was to start a hymn, utter the word "Mesopotamia" and the congregation would be on their knees, the saints shouting for joy, the sinners crying for mercy. From far back the people of Louisburg have had a healthy local pride—in the estimation of her neighbors too healthy. In the early 1830's they were unwilling to have the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad pass through their borders lest it disturb the atmosphere of serenity and culture and study for which their town was noted. Some fifty years ago a prominent public man from another section of the state declined an invitation to deliver the commencement address at Louisburg College because, as he is reported to have said, he did not have time to prepare his speech and half-prepared he had rather face an audience anywhere else in the state than in Louisburg.

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848, by Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University, is the fifth volume in the projected ten-volume history of the South, sponsored by the Littlefield Fund of the University of Texas and the State University of Louisiana. In his clear, logical way of writing, Dr. Sydnor presents first the Old South, at peace with the nation on political issues—her people, mostly planters, small farmers, village folk, content with their self-government through the county court and in their thinking along public issues, moral, and social questions largely directed by their churches, church colleges, and denominational press. Then the distinguished author makes clear how the industrial development in the North and in the rapidly-growing West, the mounting sentiment against slavery, the changes in national party organization resulting in the southern loss of leadership in Congress, brought about among the states of the South "a feeling of oppression, of defeat, and even of desperation"; and how these states, to build up against their resentment and bitterness, withdrew as it were into themselves, creating

"an idealized portrait of Southern life; a romantic legend . . . which in the nearer future was to give the Confederate soldier something to die for." Dr. Sydnor's scholarly work, with its faithful delineation of the mind of the South, one puts down with a deeper appreciation of our section of the nation and the problems peculiar to it. As for me, as a teacher of English, I found keen delight in the literary style of the author—the lucid, flowing sentence structure, the easy transition of thought from paragraph to paragraph, the choice selection of words.

The volume entitled *The Papers of Walter Clark,* edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler, is a worthy addition to the source material of our state relating to the reconstruction period and the years following through the turn of the century. Through this volume one gets not only "the true inwardness" of the controversial issues of the 1890's, such as the Clark-Kilgo case, but an insight into the legal philosophy of the "fighting judge" who had so great a part in bringing about judicial and legislative reforms in the North Carolina of the 1890's and early 1900's. Fearlessly he proclaimed: "The vital question which this country is called upon to determine is Where shall the government power reside? Shall it be Men or Money?" To me personally the appeal of this book lies not in the first-hand legal and political matter but in the early letters with their intimate glimpses of the home life of young Clark, of his years at boarding school and military institute, in the Confederate army. The twelve-year old boy off at boarding school, ending his letters to his mother with "Kiss the children for me," tries manfully to hide his homesickness; the devoted mother admonishes her son to read his Bible every day and brush his teeth; "little Clark" the soldier with a word here and there reveals the hardship of camp life—the ragged Confederate soldiers, lying by the fire in the raw November night, with no covering blankets; the barefoot men waiting their turn in line to get the hide from the beeves killed for rations that they may make moccasins for themselves. The mother makes her soldier son a new coat out of his old one turned with the cuffs shortened; she sends him apples from the little tree at home and fresh garden stuff with onions slipped in because, as she writes him: "Your Pa insists on sending you some

onions & your Cousin Will says you ought to learn to eat them; they are so healthy."

With the patient, conscientious research of the trained historian, Paul Hibbert Clyde, professor of history in Duke University, has given us a masterly presentation of the subject he treats in his massive volume of 800 pages—*The Far East, A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia.* Since Dr. Clyde designed his book primarily for Americans, he devotes large space to the activities of Americans and appraisal of American policies. In one short chapter Dr. Clyde with remarkable clarity reviews the progress of World War II in the Far East, culminating in the dropping of the first atomic bomb used in warfare.

In his final chapter Dr. Clyde shows how difficult are the economic problems of the postwar Far East, "conditioned (as they are) by the traditional historic social habits which have as yet, by no means adjusted themselves to a Western and modern world." In the creation of the future Far East, the eminent historian declares, the United States and the Soviet Union exert the greatest influence, "the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia being in the ancient frontier against Siberia and Central Asia, the back door to the East—the sphere of the United States being the new frontier, the maritime gateway to China on the Pacific.

"These frontiers meet along the 38th parallel in Korea . . . the remote geographical line, unhearlded and unsung in the records of history . . . will divide or unite America and Russia in the creation of the future Far East."

Every now and then some North Carolina poet brings out a slender volume of verse. This year we have on our Mayflower list a choice collection of poems written by a poet eighty-two years of age, who only five years ago began the serious work of composition: *Look Up, O World* by Herbert Delahaye Miles[1] of Asheville. In the clear tones of the Classic, as he expresses it, Mr. Miles writes his poems and with a delicacy of touch and a nobility of sentiment unusual in much of the present day poetry —or so called poetry. With that simplicity and sincerity which mark the true poet, Mr. Miles gives voice to his poetic urge upon a variety of themes. In these lines from *When April Comes* note the beauty of language, the appeal to the imagination:

[1] The quotations from Mr. Miles works are reproduced by special permission.

A soft prelude
A mild melodious piping to the lovely things that rise
Is blown by spring-time winds to mark the faintly rising sighs
Of Earth's response! And soon new life in all its urgent tide,
A tide that springs from waiting woods, from meadows, from wayside,
Wakes to the piping.

In the native dialect of two of his mountain friends the poet thus vividly makes us see a bear hunt:

Ol' No'th Ca'lina Bill breathed hard and deep—
"That b'ar outsharped us, up to Briar Knob,
An' we-uns got her in the big sink-hole!

Coaly Calhoun, our rough and ready hunter,
Toasted his toes and eagerly joined in.

She done outsharped our dogs, too; doubled back
An' kep we-uns a-chasin' till nigh dark!
She run off like the devil whoppin' fire,
Then she come by that mean sink-hole up thar
That's full o' rocks an' briars an' laurel bush,
An' riz up quick an' div down into hit,
The dogs a-top o' her an' like to die!
I skinned me on them rocks as I fell in
Plumb into dogs an' b'ar.

An' that thar b'ar were mad; no time to waste!
Her eyes shined like new money. I fired twiste
An' got her.

This lovely lyric, one of several inscribed *To Delia,* is entitled "The Spirit of Motherhood:"

Your proud wise head, once gold is white,
Its lovliness is ours.

For love and life and you are one,
To us you are the whole of three.

Unbowed by Time, you find life good:
Your spirit sings. So love can be!

And we—we view life understood
In your serenity.

And so ends my survey of the 1948 North Carolina books I like best; I trust that you will read these books for yourselves to see how fine they are.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS IN NORTH CAROLINA

By Alice M. Baldwin

You will all remember the scholarly and interesting paper by Dr. Mims at our annual meeting in 1946 on the intellectual development of North Carolina during the last fifty years. I could not, if I would, write anything of equal value but it has occurred to me that it might be of some interest and perhaps even of some slight value if I should talk briefly and informally of some of the changes in other fields during the last twenty-five years. I have chosen only a few which have especially interested me. I fear that it may be like bringing coals to Newcastle to talk of these developments to you, who in many cases have been instrumental in bringing them about, but after all, it is pleasant now and then to take stock of one's work and to know that it is good.

As I was driving down from the North two weeks ago, I saw a deep cut in a new road where workmen were digging diagonal trenches for the planting of vines. The broad shoulders were green with new grass, and I thought of the changes the last twenty-five years have brought in the appearance of our land and country-side. Along the highways today one sees far less of the raw earth and fewer eroded fields and gullies. Many of the cuts are covered with vines, the shoulders levelled and planted with grass and there is a fair amount of contour farming. As one drives through the country one sees better-kept farms, many of them with electric wires running from the highway, a larger number of cleaner and finer cattle and a greater variety of crops.

In the towns and villages trees have been planted along the streets, oaks and dogwoods and crepe myrtles. Well kept parks are more common than formerly, school buildings, many of them new and attractive in design, have shrubbery and flowers growing about them, areas around railroad stations and along the railroads have been improved and in some cases landscaped.

There has also been a great change in the homes of the people. Years ago there were many which were without foundations,

with swept but grassless yards. To see a woman sweeping her bare yard was no uncommon sight. Today a large number of these houses have been bricked in, shrubbery and flowers have been planted around the house, and grass grows in the yard. Almost all new homes, however small, are built with foundations or closed underpinning. There is an appearance of greater stability, order, and beauty and certainly these homes must be warmer and less drafty.

The increased interest in the history of the state and in the preservation and restoration of the lovely old buildings, historic sites, and relics has been notable. Old-time handicrafts have been revived and native folk songs and folk dances brought out of obscurity. Indeed, these have become well known beyond the state boundaries. Old courthouses have been cleaned and painted and historic towns like Hillsboro made far more attractive.

Perhaps some of you have read the article by Louis Bromfield in the November *Atlantic,* entitled "Go South, Young Man," in which he discusses some of the changes which I have mentioned. "Of all the Southern states," he says, "and for that matter all the forty-eight, no state has shown more progress within the past generation than North Carolina." I had written this paper before my attention was called to Bromfield's article and was, of course, pleased to find my own layman's observations supported by such an authority. All of these developments are proof not only of the greater economic prosperity of the state but also of a growing aesthetic appreciation and an awakened civic consciousness and pride.

The most striking illustration of the development of aesthetic appreciation is the amazing growth of interest in art and music. Today the larger cities have excellent musical programs, the great orchestras play to capacity houses, the state is even supporting its own symphony orchestra, one of the very few state orchestras in the United States. People come many miles to hear good music. It reminds me of North Dakota where, before the day of automobiles, they thought nothing of taking an all day's train journey to hear the opera in Minneapolis.

And the same thing is true of the interest in painting and sculpture. Art museums have been built and exhibits, many of them excellent in quality, are well attended.

Twenty-five years ago in the colleges of the state little attention was given to these subjects. Perhaps there was a lingering belief that they were primarily for women, the finishing touch in their polite education, as they had been for so many years. Today in all the colleges and universities of North Carolina departments of art and music are doing serious work, appealing to men as well as to women. And best of all, there are North Carolina artists and musicians who are creating new beauty in their chosen fields.

This increased appreciation of beauty in all its forms has been due to the devotion of certain individuals who have labored tirelessly over long years and often against discouragement, to organizations like the woman's clubs, the garden clubs, the societies meeting here this week, to various other state organizations, to the teachers in schools and colleges, to local art and music societies, and to many other groups as well as to the state legislature.

Of course, this development has not occurred in North Carolina alone. It has been nation-wide, but to me at least this aspect of the state's progress is one of the most significant. North Carolina has become conscious of what the love of beauty can do for the state and its citizens.

The many changes in customs and manners are known to all of you, of course. I confess to a certain nostalgia when I think of the more leisurely life and of some of the ways of the old South which so fascinated me when I first came to North Carolina: the friendly and courteous salutes of the old Negroes, the rhythm of the Negro workmen as they sang to the swing of their picks, the songs of the servants as they shelled peas in the dormitory kitchens, and the kindly "Miss Alice" with which I was greeted in the shops. These bits of southern color seem fast disappearing, at least in the larger towns and cities.

Some of the older ways of living fortunately remain. For example, in the churches one still sees the whole family, men and boys included, rather than the more feminine congregations in many of the more northern churches and, in spite of the different social habits of today, family ties seem as strong as in earlier days.

But in some respects these twenty-five years have brought very great changes. Naturally I have been especially interested in those affecting the lives of girls and women. And great indeed they have been, some of them again only a part of a world-wide movement, some more peculiar to North Carolina and the South.

It is hard to realize that only twenty-five years ago at Trinity and other colleges in North Carolina girls were not even allowed to dance together and could date only at strictly limited times and in sharply specified places and that deans of women, in the smaller colleges at least, were seriously concerning themselves in their annual conferences with the comparative wickedness of bare elbows and rolled hose. Today these meetings deal with problems of real import in the education of high school and college women.

In those earlier days the newly formed student government associations in the colleges also concerned themselves chiefly with minute questions of manners and discipline and with social activities. Today, although these still take up much time, student councils have grown in power and maturity and are deeply interested in the curriculum, in vocational guidance, in social service of many kinds in the college and community, in local, state, and national government, and in the more fundamental bases of individual and group conduct.

The interest of the students has shifted to a large extent from education, foreign language, English, and history to sociology, psychology, economics, political science, business administration, and the natural sciences, although very recently there seems to be a slight renewal of interest in teaching. This has been due perhaps in large part to the greater number of opportunities for women, a change hastened to an amazing extent by the last war. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the variety of positions now open to women. Perhaps the change in the attitude of parents towards their daughters' occupations has been less noticeable.

Twenty-five years ago teaching was almost the only profession approved by North Carolina parents for their daughters, with the occasional exception of a position as secretary, and it was rarely that they approved a position outside of the South. Many a time I tried without success to persuade a mother or father to permit their daughter to enter nursing or to study medicine,

for example. Today there seems little reluctance to let the girls try their hand at anything which interests them from a secretaryship in South America, social work in Hawaii, a position as stewardess on an international plane to that of psychiatrist in a Richmond juvenile court, a chemist in a naval ordnance center, or a model in New York. Seniors go to Miami, to Tennessee, to New York as well as to Raleigh and Charlotte to be interviewed by prospective employers.

But it is not only school and college girls before whom new vistas have opened. The development of the Federation of Women's Clubs, of the Parent-Teachers Association, of the American Association of University Women, and of the service clubs such as the Altrusa, Pilot, and Business and Professional Women has been rapid and is still continuing. Women are employed in almost every field of endeavor. In addition, an enormous amount of voluntary service is given by North Carolina women to their home communities and to the state. It would be impossible to enumerate all their activities but were they suddenly to cease there would be an acute realization of their value and indeed of their necessity. I have spoken of their work in the development of aesthetic appreciation. It has been equally noteworthy in social welfare and in other fields. There is one field, however, in which it seems to me there has been little progress and perhaps even a retrogression. That is in the field of politics. I shall never forget my first attendance in 1924 at a state meeting of the League of Women Voters. Never in any state or even in any national meeting had I met women who impressed me so forcibly with their vigor, independence, spicy individuality, and determination to share in the political life of the state. Many of these vigorous women have gone from the North Carolina scene and, able as are their daughters and granddaughters and active as they are in local and state affairs, I think there has been a loss of that earlier ardor. In any case, there is certainly a lack of women in our legislature and in city, county, and state offices.

Another development of great significance has been the improvement in interracial relations. This summer I read frequently in the Boston papers favorable comments on the situation in North Carolina, especially on the equal pay of Negro and white teachers and the excellent Negro colleges. Although further im-

provement is needed, especially in the schoolhouses and their equipment, certainly one of the greatest changes in the state during the last twenty-five years has been the growth of educational opportunity for its Negro citizens. Today in a number of the larger cities and perhaps in some of the smaller towns as well, committees of Negroes and whites have been appointed to study conditions and to find ways of improvement, not only in education but in housing and in other common problems. The ability to think and to work together, on a basis of mutual respect, is, I believe, the best augury for a peaceful and just solution of interracial difficulties.

Notable also has been the change in the position of industrial workers. Not only are their wages higher and their living conditions much better but they have become far more articulate. Not so long ago I knew workers who were afraid of losing their jobs if they so much as mentioned unions or tried to raise money among their fellow-workers for a scholarship to a workers' summer school. Such a situation would seem strange indeed today. The improved economic condition and the increased self-respect of so many of its citizens is a great asset to the state.

There has also been a decided change in the attitude of North Carolinians to new residents from the North and West, less sensitiveness to criticism, less consciousness of separateness and that in spite of the recent campaign. One seldom hears today the term "foreigner" applied to fellow Americans. The economic changes, the war, the national reputation of North Carolina institutions have brought more men and women from other parts of the country to North Carolina and have carried more North Carolinians to the North and West. Perhaps the fact that Europeans called all American soldiers "Yankees" has helped to make the term less opprobrious.

Many other changes the years have brought to the state, some of them fully as significant as any I have mentioned, the remarkable development of hospitals and interest in public health, for example, but the limits of my time and knowledge are upon me.

There are still, of course, certain qualities and habits which belong especially to North Carolina as well as others which are of the South and many of them I hope we shall retain because they

speak of the past and give its own special characteristics to the state.

You will notice that I say "we." And that brings me to my final word. Twenty-five years has changed a Yankee to such a good North Carolinian that I *like* turnip salad, automatically open and butter my hot biscuits immediately, can say North Carolinian and pronounce Concord with the long last syllable without any hesitation and have been caught calling myself in all innocence a Southerner, much to the amusement of my northern family. The beauty of North Carolina, the friendliness of its people, the strength of family and church life, the exciting sense of growth, the continuity with the past, together with the readiness to accept the new, all these have won my interest and affection. When I return after an absence, however short, I feel at home.

PRESENTATION OF THE MAYFLOWER CUP AWARD

By Douglas L. Rights

"Of making many books there is no end." This is the text. The flood gates of the printing presses are open and the tide is rising high.

The largest university library in the United States has more than six million volumes. If a student in his freshman year began reading in the library at the rate of ten books a day, a liberal assignment, he would complete his reading through the library in a little less than two thousand years, only to find that fifty million more books had accumulated at the present rate of increase.

Something must be done about this. Something has been done.

A notable effort has been made to provide a liberal education on a five-foot shelf.

There are offerings of condensations, or synopses. The digest magazines give articles in reduced space and books are boiled down. The digest of a five-hundred-page book can be read in five pages. Why read five hundred when five will do?

If the trend continues, we may expect the reduction of a book to an impression produced by a pill. You do not need to read the book; simply take the pill and you will get the effect. In the not far distant future the gentle reader might seat himself comfortably in his easy chair and reach, not for the book case, but for the pill box, choose a pill—let us say the red pill "Tale of Two Cities"—take the pill, and—the rest is silence.

Against this strong tide of literary production North Carolina has continued heartily resistant. The voluminous flood beats with little effect on the sandbanks, the rock-ribbed mountains, the sandhills, and the piedmont.

The State Literary and Historical Association is not unmindful and declares among its purposes "(1) to foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina, and (2) to encourage productive literary activity within the State and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers."

In the years 1905 to 1922 a cup was provided by a loyal citizen to be awarded annually to the writer of the book selected by judges to be the outstanding literary production of the state in that year. When conditions required that this award be discontinued, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, in 1930, provided for the annual award of the Mayflower Cup.

This is deserved recognition. It does not, however, go far enough. I would recommend that a collection of cups, and perhaps plates, and saucers, and sufficient other vessels be provided for distribution to deserving authors so that all contributors to the literary production of the state be rewarded.

I would go further. I would recommend cups for booksellers. What good is a book if it is not delivered into the hands of readers? North Carolina is notoriously poor in book stores. A request to a publishing house for a list of booksellers in North Carolina produced only a list issued ten years ago, which exhibited, after deduction of newsstands with their loads of lurid comic and tragic displays, and drug stores with their offerings from sandwiches to strychnine, only about a score of qualified book stores in this state.

I would recommend cups for public libraries, too often neglected and underprivileged.

And still further, I would recommend cups for readers. What good are authors and book stores if no one reads the books? Give us intelligent readers to demand the best in literature.

For the one cup that is provided by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, it is my pleasure to make the presentation to Dr. Charles S. Sydnor as the award in 1948 for the book, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.*

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By Mary Lindsay Thornton

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BOOK REVIEWS

Resource Management in North Carolina. By Paul W. Wager and Donald B. Hayman. (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science. 1947. Pp. 192. Free.)

This book is one of the results of a regional study conducted along state lines. In 1945 six southern states joined hands in producing similar studies. The Tennessee Valley Authority cooperated with money and staff members and the General Education Board helped finance the project.

The authors, Professor Wager and Mr. Hayman, of *Resource Management in North Carolina,* were not concerned so much with the natural resources of the state as they were with the public or legal control of these resources. They divided their study into four large divisions: first, the rise and growth of public agencies dedicated to the protection and management of the state's resources; second, the examination of their organization and procedures; third, the evolution of these procedures; and fourth, the recommendations and conclusions for future progress.

As early as 1738 a law was enacted to "Prevent Killing of Deer at Unreasonable Times," but the present resource agencies did not begin until 1891 with the establishment of the Geological Survey.

All of the natural resources and their management are discussed and evaluated, but land and water are given emphasis. The Soil Conservation Service of 1937 and the TVA are chief agencies. The authors declare: "The unrestricted pollution of North Carolina streams is without doubt the greatest single threat to her industrial development."

In the fields of administrative control, fiscal management, and personnel management much has been done but more yet needs to be accomplished. During the year 1945-46 the federal and state governments spent more than $5,000,000 in North Carolina on the resource program.

The authors say that North Carolina can be justly proud of the progress made in the use of the state's natural resources. They recommend with a view to improvement, however, continued research, education stressing the unity and undeveloped potential-

ities of natural resources, methods of integrating the separate programs, personnel selected on basis of merit and freed from partisan politics, and legislative and administrative solution of problems of organization.

No short review can do justice to this splendid factual study. As a teacher I have long felt the need for such a book, for reference and for general reading. It should meet an urgent need in both colleges and high schools. No member of the General Assembly or office holder can afford to neglect it. The volume deserves and will have wide distribution. Having been financed by the General Education Board, the book is for free distribution.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone, N. C.

Henry Harrisse On Collegiate Education. By Edgar W. Knight. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. 54.)

Dr. Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina has made a contribution to the history of education by bringing to light a previously unpublished essay on higher education by Henry Harrisse, an author little known by the average student of education.

At the time of Mr. Harrisse's writing, the "Cultural" viewpoint and the "formal discipline" conception largely dominated the thinking and the practice in education. However, for a century or more such European educators and writers as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Comenius, Bacon, and others had been fostering a different conception of education, and Harrisse in his essay espouses a broader, a more liberal, and a more practical education than was then offered in the comparatively young University of North Carolina. He challenges, for example, the contention that Latin and Greek have a greater "disciplinary" value than French and other modern languages. He also says, "all of our colleges, universities, and classical academies, seem to have adopted a stereotyped course of studies and mode of instruction." He favors not only a broadened and more practical curriculum, but better teaching and more effective study.

"That which we substitute [for the formal classical studies—Latin and Greek] instead, is neither new nor obsolete. It consists merely in extending several of the very studies pursued in all the literary institutions of this country, adding a few others, and adopting a method of instruction which exacts more from both student and instructor. Through this method, the whole sum of physical and mental application which can be expected from an American youth in educational pursuits, will be obtained."

"The vast amount of time hitherto devoted to an imperfect acquisition of the dead languages, we transfer to a profound study of our own language and literature, a foreign tongue universally spoken, that can be acquired in a few years, and which at the same time trains the mental powers in a satisfactory degree; a comprehensive study of History, both ancient and modern; Drawing and Penmanship, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Constitutional Law, Political Economy, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology and Gymnastics, complete the course."

Harrisse also discusses the still controversial subjects of general and specific, or vocational education. On the whole, the article is well organized and is presented in scholarly fashion. Pertinent questions for education then and now are treated in a thoughtful and challenging manner. The students of education and the interested layman, alike, will find food for thought in Dr. Knight's fifty-four page editorial presentation of Harrisse's essay.

B. Y. Tyner.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Papers of Walter Clark, 1857-1901. Edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh T. Lefler. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 607. $6.00.)

When a man has lived a long and useful life spanning critical epochs in the history of our nation, when he has earned outstanding distinction in public positions, including the highest judicial office in the gift of his native state, when he has fought valiantly in peace and war for the right as he saw it, when with a vision possessed by few of his contemporaries he clearly saw far-off

horizons—then not only his actions and deeds but also his words and thoughts become of rare importance. By this token, Aubrey Brooks and Hugh Lefler have placed primarily every North Carolinian and secondarily every true American, in their debt, for the patience, tact, and good taste they have displayed as editors of the volume under review.

As a letter-writer, Judge Clark cannot compete with Mr. Justice Holmes on the score of intellectual brilliance, nor can he vie with the amazing versatility displayed by Thomas Jefferson. Yet from the standpoint of self-revelation, Judge Clark goes beyond both Holmes and Jefferson. A reader of Judge Clark's letters, who went no further, would have a pretty complete picture of the man. For he sets forth in his letters the reasons for the faith that was in him as a social crusader, far ahead of his time. Judge Clark's epistolary style is direct and trenchant, "weasel words" are not for him.

A captious critic might point out that many of the controversies into which Judge Clark threw his very soul were local and provincial. At best, that would be a half-truth, for it has been well said that provincialism touched with genius, or even talent, becomes by subtle alchemy, cosmopolitanism. For example, there is unquestionably much that is peculiar to North Carolina in the Clark-Kilgo controversy which shook the Old North State to its foundations. Yet that episode throws light on every contest between advanced educational liberalism and tyrannical academic authority.

Practically every reader will find in these letters views that he does not share, but that is as it should be. And the fact that Judge Clark's ideas were deeply colored by his own personal experiences lends added historical value to what he thought. Thus, Judge Clark's fierce advocacy of the election of federal judges by the people runs absolutely counter to the view of this reviewer. But it is only fair to point out that Judge Clark's associations with the federal judges of his day were altogether unhappy. This reviewer is himself a federal judge, who owes his tenure to presidential appointment. And Judge Clark's enemies, many of whom were altogether to his credit, could not in any fairness claim that he does not set forth his ideas with clarity and vigor, with charm and originality.

There is hardly a person of real consequence in North Carolina during his day who is not mentioned in these letters of Judge Clark. And a valuable contribution by the editors is a note telling the reader who and what each of these persons is. Yet the correspondents of Judge Clark were not limited to those usually considered as important. Through these letters there flashes a panorama of persons of every degree and station—a variegated collection of people rarely seen save on the grand opera stage where kings and dukes, lords and ladies, doctors, lawyers, farmers, peasants, and slaves all sing together with lusty abandon to make up a swelling chorus.

The volume is clearly printed, copiously illustrated, admirably indexed. Before each period of Judge Clark's life covered by his letters written during that particular period, is an explanatory sketch, etched by the editors with brevity and charm, which readers will find exceedingly helpful in enabling them more fully to understand and appreciate the letters.

Finally, it is this reviewer's considered opinion that our American life would acquire a richer and deeper meaning if we had more Walter Clarks, more Aubrey Brookses, more Hugh Leflers. A fighting crusader has happily found, in this value, two sympathetic and sincere editors.

Armistead M. Dobie.

Charlottesville, Virginia

The Building and the Builders of a City: High Point, North Carolina. Compiled by F. J. Sizemore, Executive Secretary, High Point Chamber of Commerce. (High Point: Hall Printing Company. 1947. Pp. vi, 329. Free distribution.)

This book is made up of a random selection of items from the history of the High Point area since its beginning as a white settlement in the late colonial period. The first historical records are to be found in the reports of Baptist and Quaker meetings shortly after 1750. There are numerous family names and highly suggestive incidents in the era of handicraft manufacturing. Both the name and the town of High Point are described as

originating in its selection as a way station of the North Carolina Railroad. The whole work constitutes an interesting picture of a transition over a century and a half from an agrarian economy to an industralized urban life.

One cannot but doubt, however, the validity of the compiler's feeling "that the publication contains much valuable and interesting data which can be used in the writing of a real history of High Point." The work is so loaded with names and trite materials that little room is left for "valuable and interesting data." A two-page table of contents partially atones for the lack of an index. Many of the items are personal accounts with no indication of the sources on which they were originally based. The most valuable materials in the book are the excerpts from public records and from *The High Point Enterprise,* especially the Golden Anniversary issue of January 20, 1935. The prospective author can by reading this book gain some idea of the nature of these sources, but he will hardly find the excerpts here given already fitted to his needs.

The Building and the Builders of a City is certainly not history: it is doubtful whether it can be used directly as source material for writing history. It contains some passages of undoubted local interest and others that cast fitful rays into a relatively dark area of history. Its very faults demonstrate that trained historians would do well to write more local history and criticize the efforts of amateurs less than has been the custom recently. For the past half century most of the basic research in state and local history has been done by the apprentices in the craft whose very success has meant their promotion to other types of work. As a result, American history is in grave danger of losing that vitality imparted to it by a former generation of masters who continued local research as an integral part of their mature scholarship. Viewed in this light, this book becomes a challenge to every competent historian who has a few hours per week that might be turned to account in collecting and editing local materials.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which it Grew. By George MacClaren Brydon. (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxii, 571. $7.50.)

According to a statement in the preface this volume tells the story of the Anglican Church in Virginia for the years 1607 to 1727, the first period; it is to be followed by a second volume for the second period, 1727 to 1814. Possibly a third volume for the third period, that since 1814, is in contemplation, but it is not definitely promised.

The present volume, though only one-third of the whole, is monumental—monumental in the number and size of its pages, printed normally in eight-point, with quotations and notes in smaller types, all well documented and indicating a prodigious amount of labor and pains.

In the preface the author indicates that *Virginia's Mother Church* is to have encomiastic qualities. He charges that Hawks and Meade, the first "accredited historians of the Episcopal Church in the United States, having only a very limited amount of records to guide them," did not hestitate to present the darkest possible view of moral and religious conditions in Virginia, and in support of their "opinions" had misinterpreted their records. Later historians of the Church had followed Hawks and Meade, and what was worse, they had been the dupes of denominational historians, accepting their darkening and sometimes imaginary stories of the church as "gospel truth." "Surely, it is desirable," says he, "for the reputation of Virginia and her Mother Church . . . that a history of religion in the colony should be written." For more than twenty years the author had been obsessed with such views, and had expressed them in his introduction to Goodwin's *The Colonial Church in Virginia*. Here at last is the desired "trustworthy" history, one in which proper care is taken of "the reputation of Virginia and her Mother Church," Such is the reviewer's inference.

Very regrettably Dr. Brydon has sought to recommend his own work by speaking disparagingly of that of Dr. Francis Hawks, whose readers and admirers, among whom are many able and respected historical writers, have firm confidence in his honesty, and have often praised him because he recognized that "the soul of history is *Truth*," and among the first of our American his-

torians based his various histories on documents he himself had discovered after much industrious research. They have also obesrved Dr. Hawks' passionate love for his Church, and that, while he does not attempt to conceal the fact that it suffered much from unworthy ministers, he presents it as superior to all the evils that beset it and as having the promise of potency of its later triumphant career. Doubtless many discriminating members of that great Church have come to a higher appreciation of it from reading the sober and judicious narrative of Hawks than the work under review with its many highly partisan statements can possible give them.

After reading the author's preface one is not surprised to find that he has taken much care that his volume shall contain nothing, or as little as possible, that is discreditable to the Mother Church. Though he is undertaking to write "an exhaustive history," he makes no use of the writings of those whom he "mislikes or slights." He does not once refer to the histories of Hawks, and to Meade only in a footnote. A good example of his method is seen in his treatment of the subject of Quakers. Seeking to show that the Quakers received proper treatment in the Virginia of 1660 he freely uses the *Journal* of Thomas Story, an English Quaker who makes record of his kind entertainment by the governor and other prominent Virginians, but fails to mention the journals of George Fox and William Edmundson and Bishop's *New England Judged,* in all of which there is much about the Quakers of Virginia, while in the last named are accounts of the persecutions of Quakers, including the story of the barbarous whipping by public officers of "two respectable Quaker women, refugees from persecution in Massachusetts." Brydon says nothing of this, although account is taken of it not only by Hawks but also by P. A. Bruce in his *Institutional History of Virginia,* a work known to Dr. Brydon and highly praised by him, making it almost certain that while he knew the story of the whipping he omitted it. One has only to read and compare the accounts of the Quakers as given by Bruce and Brydon to be convinced of how partial is that of the latter.

Seemingly intent on showing that the Quakers deserved any harsh treatment they received in Virginia during the days of Governor Spotswood, the author rehearses the governor's dis-

credited stories of the great wickedness of the North Carolina Quakers in the Tuscarora War but makes no mention of the fact that the contemporary Governor Eden of North Carolina speaks of the loyalty and helpfulness of the Quakers in the war. This is told in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* a series which possibly Dr. Brydon did not consult.

Often in the course of his narrative the author has found it necessary to tell of an incident in which Virginia and her Church are seen in a sorry light. Then he has been ready with words of interpretation, extenuation, inference, deduction, and opinion. Very frequently his statements are introduced by such expressions as "one must infer," "this would seem," "the strong presumption is," "it is quite easy to understand," "quite possibly," and "one can imagine." At times also he writes at length to sustain his view that while the measures resorted to against Quakers, Puritans, and Cromwellites were severe, they were necessary if the cause of true religion was not to suffer harm. Virginia and her Church were always justified.

To read *Virginia's Mother Church,* however, is to recognize the work's immense value. It is the result of more than twenty years of devoted labor by an able, interested, zealous, and indefatigable scholar and historian. It makes available to the general reader in well ordered chapters and in an easily read narrative great treasures of information, some of it old, but much of it new and gathered by painstaking research through a prodigious number of documents never before used for such a purpose. The author is to be much praised for making his work a narrative of both the political and the religious, for the two are inseparable in real life and this close relationship should be regarded by writers of history.

In the volume there are twenty-two chapters. In the first nine is told the story of "Church and State under the Virginia Company, 1607-1624." All chapters are interesting, but perhaps the most interesting are those which tell of the spread of the settlements through the burroughs and plantations and the organization of the parishes. The thirteen remaining chapters tell of "The Church under the Stuarts." Among the most interesting of these are the two chapters on "James Blair, Commissary," in the first of which Blair's work in organizing William and Mary

College is told. The least interesting of all is the chapter on "Colonel Spotswood's Plan and Failure." The appendices are largely devoted to the various laws, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, of the period, and to rare documents relating to the life of the Church. The notes which are printed at the close of each chapter and the appendices have great historical interest.

George W. Paschal.

Wake Forest, N. C.

Hugh Davis and his Alabama Plantation. By Weymouth T. Jordan. (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press. 1948. Pp. 177. $3.00.)

When the late U. B. Phillips completed his excellent studies of slavery and the plantation economy of the ante-bellum South, he fully realized that he was attempting a synthesis before the preliminary monographs had been written. Since then, a number of students of the ante-bellum South, utilizing a wealth of planters' diaries, papers, and plantation journals—sources that Phillips exploited to the limited extent that they were then available—have produced excellent monographs on slavery in several southern states and case studies of various plantations. To the growing list of such titles, Weymouth T. Jordan of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute now adds this study of a cotton planter of Perry County, Alabama, and his plantation, Beaver Bend, in the years 1848-1901.

Although the coverage extends from 1848 to 1901, the major portion of the contents treats the period 1848-1862 when Beaver Bend was under the active direction of Hugh Davis. The eight chapters include accounts of the rise of the plantation economy in the Alabama black-belt in the years following the War of 1812, plantation management, the overseer, the purchase and care of slaves, the management and work of slaves, the purchase of supplies and subsistence farming, production and sale of cotton, and the vicissitudes of Beaver Bend in the post-Civil War years and its final loss by the Davis family.

Using to good advantage the vast amount of material in the Davis papers and farm journals, the author writes interestingly, if at times in too much unnecessary detail, of Davis's operation of Beaver Bend in the 1850's. Particularly good is the treatment

of Davis's farming methods and his management of his Negro slaves. In most instances Jordan wisely does not generalize on the basis of Davis's experiences but on page 51 he makes the highly debatable point that "all in all, the position of the southern overseer was desirable neither from a social nor an economic standpoint." While perhaps true so far as social status is concerned, there is much evidence to indicate that the overseer's economic status in some parts of the South was relatively good. This reviewer was disappointed at the almost complete absence of information on two topics, the cost of producing cotton and the social and political life of Davis and his family. If, however, the sources provided no data on these subjects the author is not to be held accountable for their omission. Jordan's study is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on the plantation economy of the ante-bellum South. The book contains a useful bibliography and index.

J. Carlyle Sitterson.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Teaching Local History in Today's World. By George L. Oeste, editor. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Middle States Council for the Social Studies. 1948. Pp. x, 98. $1.00.)

By use of a good title, *Teaching Local History in Today's World,* the Middle States Council for the Social Studies has prepared a pertinent publication designed to increase interest in local history without prejudice to the need for an understanding of national and world affairs. A compilation of excellent papers by historians experienced in teaching local history and government, the bulletin presents concrete suggestions for applying the techniques of local research and study.

Without controversy, the writers support the contention that the logical sequence in social education demands that a student should *first learn and best learn* those factors and conditions prevalent in his immediate environment. Such reasoning adheres to that popular belief in educational psychology that people find satisfaction in studying whatever is emotionally near to them. In a similar view, the writers of these stimulating papers ad-

vance the notion that if a student is given the opportunity to study local history and attack local problems, he simultaneously gains a functional role in studying and solving national and world affairs.

In addition to protecting their interests in local history, the authors are very liberal in describing actual projects and units which have been undertaken in surveying community and state history in several of the eastern states. Particular emphasis is given to the possibilities of the Junior Historian Movement as an agency fully capable of creating within youth the desire to discover and preserve choice bits of local heritage.

In scope, the publication contains materials of interest to teachers and students at all levels—elementary, secondary, and college. Likewise, it treats local history as an inclusive area with political, social, technological, and economic implications.

Of special interest to North Carolina readers is the attention devoted to resource-use education. One chapter treats community relationships and proposes the process for identifying and using local resources with the ultimate objective of improving the quality of living in the community.

J. E. Miller.

State Department of Public Instruction,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. XIII, The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806. Edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. xi, 641. Preface, symbols, index. $3.50.)

With the appearance of volume XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806,* the State Department resumes publication of *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* after the war-imposed curtailment of the enormous and historically significant project.

The series was conceived in 1931 when Dr. Clarence E. Carter was appointed editor of *The Territorial Papers,* and the first volume appeared three years later. Prior to the stopping of publication owing to the war, twelve volumes had appeared, covering the Old Northwest, the Southwest, Mississippi, Indiana, Orleans, and Michigan territories. The present volume, the first of three

which will contain selections of important documents pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana-Missouri from 1803 to 1821, covers the period from 1803 to 1806.

Volume XIII opens with the acquisition of the territory in 1803 and the subsequent transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States. There is a heavy proportion of the materials which pertain to the administration of the first territorial governor, General James Wilkinson, and the selection is justified because for the first and only time in American territorial history the civil and military administration was united in one administrator. The policy failed and its failure was evident before the removal of Wilkinson as governor.

The scope of the documents is wide and varied, as were the problems of a huge territory and its citizens. There are problems concerning land (perhaps the most important problem the Federal government had to deal with), relations with the new Americans, establishment and maintenance of custom houses, military posts, Indian agencies, roads, post offices, courts, and a workable financial system. The citizens of the territory, extremely varied in their nationalistic and economic backgrounds, constantly petitioned Congress, it was impossible to please them, and Congress constantly replied to their complaints, initiated relief, redressed grievances, and calmed those who were desirous of holding office.

The present volume maintains the same high standard of selection, editing, and general scholarship set by earlier volumes of the series. It is a worthy addition to one of the most important and significant publication projects in American historiography.

Edwin Adams Davis.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848. By Charles S. Sydnor. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. 400. $5.00.)

Professor Sydnor's book is volume V of *The History Of The South* being published under the sponsorship of Louisiana State University and the Trustees of the Littlefield Fund for Southern History at the University of Texas. It deals with the years when

"Cotton Kingdom" was rising to dominance in the South, and when sectional consciousness was developing under prosperity and outside criticism. The book, of necessity, falls into two distinct parts. The first is largely descriptive and is an effort to depict the "internal life of the section in all its complex manifestations." The second division deals with the relations of the South to the rest of the nation.

The picture of the South that emerges from Sydnor's pages is balanced and fair, even though not exactly flattering. Farmer as well as planter receives his dues and the efforts to improve methods in agriculture are well described. The towns with their merchants, artisans, and professional groups are not neglected as is so often the case. The vexing problem of internal improvements is treated largely as a taxation problem with emphasis placed primarily on the difficulty of securing adequate transportation facilities where state appropriations were small and opposition to federal action strong. Backwardness along industrial lines and the hampering effects of slavery are admitted but attention is also directed to the efforts to diversify the economic effort. The financial story of the Lower South, on the other hand, would be much more satisfactory if understood as a normal western expression rather than a strictly southern one, and the whole story of southern marketing and the growing dependence on northern credit needs elaboration.

One of the best sections of the book is that dealing with local government. The spread of the county system from Virginia to the wider South is held responsibile for a situation in which the few at the top of the social-economic ladder ruled and extended their power upward into state and nation. It produced a real aristocracy, but it also led to a genuine democratic upsurge which rewrote constitution after constitution, broadened the franchise, and corrected evils in representation. That in turn must have had something to do with the wider drive for social reform in education, treatment of prisoners and the insane, and the ending of imprisonment for debt.

Sydnor's handling of social and cultural affairs is thoroughly orthodox. Elementary education was backward; colleges were somewhat better. The evangelical sects were strong; literary efforts were limited and soon turned definitely along regional

lines. Slavery was early under something of a cloud but was accepted and defended with ardor as cotton spread and profits rose.

The second part of Sydnor's volume, dealing with national relationships, begins with the panic of 1819 and runs through the Mexican War. The panic seems to have created in the South much distrust of Yankee ways and to have united the South and West against the National Bank. It formed the setting for the Missouri struggle in which slavery was attacked and Southern fears aroused. Some men thought that "behind the specious mask of humanity" there lay "some sinister design—inimical to the interests of the Southern states." Many saw it as a move to check the influence of the South in national affairs. It began the drawing of a line between the slave and free states which widened as John Marshall's decisions increased the central government's power and protective tariffs strengthened northern economy. John Taylor, and then John C. Calhoun, led the southern opposition and began to stress state rights as a remedy. The nullification controversy widened the gap, sharpened the weapons, but failed to produce complete southern unity. That came only when the attack on slavery began to broaden into an attack on the South as a section. Then came the full defense of slavery and the foolish belief that the Constitution alone could protect established interests.

The "vicissitudes of an agricultural economy," which included both "hard times" and a rapid falling behind the North in growth and prosperity, in urban development, and in railroad building, added the final push. The South went definitely onto the defensive and developed that strange complex which "inferiors" are wont to reveal of creating a false notion of superiority to hide an unacceptable truth.

This reviewer would put far less stress on the part which the events through nullification played in producing southern consciousness than has the author and much more on those occurring after 1840. The early events did reveal certain differences between interests and values in specific cases and places, but they did not stir the section as a whole either to consciousness or to unity. Furthermore, he is not so certain that "the affirmation of perfection" was the simple product of a realization of inferi-

ority. Few Americans anywhere felt that. It seems more reasonable to believe that southerners, seeing the confusion and lack of stability in northern life as it moved into the modern pattern, actually thought it inferior. The North under the industrial revolution had every reason to question all inherited social-economic relationships, while the South with a persisting agricultural life would most certainly hold to old values with honest conviction and certainty.

Avery Craven.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

Conservatism in Early American History. By Leonard Woods Labaree. (New York: New York University Press. 1948. Pp. 182. $3.75.)

"Conservatism," writes Professor Labree in his introduction to this volume of six lectures delivered at New York University in the spring of 1947, "is an attitude of mind that tends to promote resistance to change. It is not an absolute but a variable." He then proceeds to investigate the influences, so far as they can be historically studied, which, in his judgment, combined to form the conservative mind in America in the hundred years preceding the American Revolution. He finds them to be, in brief, high social position with commensurate political importance, wealth either in land or gained in trade, membership in a church which taught respect for tradition and authority as a moral duty, an education based upon traditional subjects and methods, and a belief in the British constitution as a perfect blending of the "monarchial, aristocratical and democratical forms of government." The presentation of the details of this social, economic, religious, and intellectual climate of eighteenth-century America, in so far as it tended to favor the development of a conservative point of view, is an enlightening counter-balance to the more usual emphasis upon the great social changes that characterized that century. The new, radically different, and dramatic changes have always attracted attention. Yet the continuity and stability in our civilization have been chiefly maintained by the conservatives and not by the radicals. Profes-

sor Labaree performs a great service in calling attention to this side of American history.

The author's specific aim in his final lecture is to explain the loyalists. On the whole, he presents them in a less attractive light than that which has been customary with the historical revisionists. Their background of interests and training only partly explains them. They were men who were naturally disposed to dislike change, they were cautious, slow to make up their minds, and pessimistic as to value of anything new. Professor Labaree, even while meeting his scholarly standard of keeping the historian's even balance, gives strong support, particularly in his concluding pages, to the thesis, too long the exclusive property of the super-patriot, who has maintained it belligerently, unintelligently, and without comprehension, that Americans need not apologize for the American Revolution.

In covering so long a period, and in dealing with so complicated a subject, no two persons would select the same details nor give the same emphasis to the factors selected. This reviewer would be grateful if Professor Labaree had developed in greater detail the connection, if any, between the opposition in New England to the "enthusiasm" of the Great Awakening and the conservatism characteristic of the loyalists. He wonders whether or not in matters of new scientific interests and of up-to-date (for the eighteenth century) educational training, conservatives of the loyalist brand were less advanced than the leaders on the American side. And he would have particularly enjoyed (as undoubtedly Professor Labaree's listeners would have, had time permitted) an additional lecture on the conservatives on the American side of the Revolution, men like James Bowdoin in Massachusetts, and their counterparts elsewhere, the men who gave the strength of stability and purpose and respectability to the colonial cause. Would the men of this type have been satisfied if the British social and political system had been flexible enough to give them room for office-holding and advancement? Was the suggestion made by an Englishman during the Revolution that one way of appeasing American leaders was to give them titles of nobility an utterly ridiculous thought? With more time and space, perhaps the lecturer might have developed the

external influences which forced peaceful, slow-thinking, conservatives—possibly the majority of Americans—finally to take a stand, some on one side, some on the other.

The volume is a suggestive study, clearly presented, on an important theme.

Robert E. Moody.

Boston University,
Boston, Mass.

The Great Rehearsal. The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. By Carl Van Doren. (New York: The Viking Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 336. $3.75.)

"The Great Rehearsal" is an inept title because it is not descriptive of the contents of the book and it subjects the author to the possible charge of utilizing his account of a great event in American history for the propagandist purpose of promoting the United Nations. The Federal Convention, called to propose amendments to the Articles of Confederation, boldly wrote a new constitution creating a federal government with authority and power to deal with federal affairs. "And many citizens of many nations are now convinced that only by some similar alteration of the Charter of the United Nations can the United Nations develop from a league of states into a government capable of securing the peace and welfare of the world." The efforts of the supporters of the Federal Constitution "might be . . . a rehearsal for the federal governments of the future." The parallelism between the United States in 1787 and the United Nations in 1948 is exaggerated. Unlike the nations today, the thirteen American states in 1787 had the common bonds of similar language, religion, culture, moral concepts, and political institutions, the English common law, long experience in allegiance to one government, and experience with the republican form of government on both the state and federal levels.

The story of the Convention and its work covers 175 pages—a space inadequate for the complicated story of the successive stages in the evolution of the Constitution from the Virginia plan. The story deals chiefly with the nationalistic Virginia plan and the "Federal Compromise" between the large and small

states over representation in the bicameral Congress. Like the historians of the nineteenth century the author makes a whipping-boy of the Articles of Confederation instead of representing it as the first constitution of the United States, more significant for its strength and constructive record than for its defects and failures. The emphasis is upon personalities, particularly Washington and Franklin, though neither played a major role in the framing of the Constitution, rather than upon forces and conditions which help explain the movement for the Convention as well as the work of the Convention and the contest over ratification. Inadequate treatment is given to the important work of the Convention during the latter half of its session; to its revolutionary, extra-legal decisions; to the classes, interests, and areas which were not well represented; to the highly significant political and economic provisions upon which the conservative, aristocratic, well-to-do delegates were in harmony and agreement; and to the conflicts between northern and southern states, between the radical and conservative points of view respecting government and economics, and between the champions of local self-government and of nationalism.

The state ratification contests are hurriedly sketched in sixty-three pages with chief emphasis upon the Federalist side of the controversy and upon the contests in Pennsylvania, Massachusettts, South Carolina, and Virginia. By presenting the Federalists and their arguments in a highly favorable light and by failing to state adequately the case for the Anti-Federalists and using derogatory adjectives in describing them and their arguments, the author reveals a Federalist bias. It has long been established that neither side had a monopoly on virtue, education, intelligence, and patriotism. The political, social, economic and geographic cleavages produced by the ratification contest are not adequately analyzed. Impressed by the widely published discussions, the author concludes that "To live in that year was to get a political education." If so, why did only about 160,000 in a population of about 4,000,000 show sufficient interest to vote in the elections of delegates to the state ratifying conventions?

A final chapter of thirteen pages describing the Federalist processions and celebrations in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York has no substantial value or significance.

The work has no footnotes or bibliography, but frequent quotations indicate that it is based largely on the primary sources of the federal and state ratifying conventions. Most of the pertinent monographs are listed in "Sources and Acknowledgements" but the author does not accept the reinterpretation made by scholars during the past half-century. He asserts that the economic interpretation made by Charles A. Beard in 1913 "has since been overemphasized" and refers to some of the historians who have with great industry and realism presented new facts about forces and events which have somewhat modified the eulogistic, uncritical, hero-worshipping story of early lay historians as "Some later enemies or censurers of the Constitution."

The Federal Constitution has by evolution become an instrument of democratic government but the author seems to think it was conceived and written in the spirit of democracy. "The masters of the Convention had put their faith in the people and the people had justified it." It is difficult to reconcile this conclusion with the frequently expressed distrust of the people by the framers with their deliberate effort to plan a government which would be difficult for the mass of people to control, and with the meager popular vote for delegates favoring ratification.

The Great Rehearsal makes no scholarly contribution to the subject and the author does not add to his already respectable stature as a historian. The work in fact represents a reactionary swing toward the picture drawn by John Fiske in 1888 which has long since been seriously modified by the well-established findings of McLaughlin, Libby, Farrand, Beard, Nevins, Burnett, and Jensen.

But *The Great Rehearsal* was written for the general public rather than for historians, and as a Book-of-the-Month-Club selection it will reach a large reading public which, if not excited by following the serious arguments of the leaders, often expressed in their own words, will be pleased with the author's style, emphases, and interpretations which reinforce the deep reverence of the public for the fathers and their work, the Constitution of the United States.

A. R. Newsome.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Papacy and European Diplomacy, 1869-1878. By Lillian Parker Wallace. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 349. $6.00.)

No history of nineteenth-century Europe which fails to take into consideration the important role played by the Papacy can be said to have grasped the significance of that fateful era. The author of this volume, in reflecting upon the dearth of books in English on the effects of papal dipolmacy, suggests that the highly controversial nature of the issues, as between Catholics and Protestants, has rendered this task a most difficult one. She regards her own contribution, therefore, as a distinct service insofar as it is a "simple recounting of facts."

The reviewer of such a book finds himself caught up into controversy in appraising not only the inevitable interpretation of facts as presented, but also the "weights" which are assigned to the facts. By far and large, however, this volume presents a fair and penetrating insight into the outstanding problems of the Papacy in the nineteenth century. If issue may be taken with the "weighting" of certain facts, the reason can easily be found in the controversial elements which not even the most impartial historian can avoid.

Following an introduction to the "Roman Question" and the attitude of Pope Pius IX towards Liberalism, the author proceeds to divide her material into nine chapters, as follows: I. The Triple Alliance, II. The Vatican Council, III. The Definition of Infallibility, IV. The Occupation of Rome, V. After the Council, VI. The Kulturkampf, VII. The Kulturkampf and International Affairs, VIII. Franco-Italian Relations, IX. The Last Days of Pius IX. A non-critical bibliography of primary sources and secondary works is added, with an index.

The two basic issues involving the Church, in which Pius IX was the chief protagonist during the entire period under discussion, were the temporal power of the Pope, in the matter of the Papal States, and the infallibility of the Pope, on the spiritual side, in matters of faith and morals. The first question was resolved in the breaching of the walls of Rome by the troops of Garibaldi; the second was settled in the definition by the Vatican Council. It is of supreme importance to note that the fall of Rome and the loss of the Papal States by the head of the Church

did not occur until the Vatican Council had determined upon the *Pastor Aeternus,* decree of personal infallibility of the Pope.

The author of this volume observes that the suspension of the Council, rendered necessary by the seizure of Rome, "meant that the minority bishops would have no opportunity to reopen the question of Infallibility nor to modify it. Their fight was definitely lost." Had the sequence of events been otherwise, however, it is probable that there would have been no Vatican Council. The prestige of the Papacy and indeed the solidarity of the Catholic Church today might have been much different.

The discussion of the process by which Infallibility was finally defined and decreed appears to this reviewer to be definitely weighted by the author's personal view of the doctrine. A full review is given to the activities and statements of the bishops, including Kenrick of St. Louis, who were opposed to the issuance of the decree, either because they were not in preliminary accord or because they felt the moment inopportune. The active proponents of the decree, on the other hand, are represented as rather shadowy puppets of the Pope exercising a devious strategy which somehow never reaches the light of day. In particular, the Jesuits are repeatedly represented as exercising a nefarious influence over the Pope. But documentation for this side is singularly lacking and unsatisfactory.

An overweighting of French Catholic sentiment for the restoration of the Temporal Power as a disturbing influence in the relations between France and Bismark may also be noted. Certainly the determination of the latter to build a strong, united Germany and to secure and retain Alsace-Lorraine was an equal, if not far greater, factor in the struggle between the two countries, further complicated by the vacillating policies of Napoleon III. This same sentiment is represented as having boomeranged against the Church within France by the anti-clerical laws of the Republic. But the emergence of anti-religious intellectualism, already deeply rooted in the country, and the political ineptitude of Napoleon III must not be discounted in this process.

Clericalism and "ultramontanism," which are frequently mentioned, but without a clear-cut definition, are likewise named as principal reasons for the Kulturkampf. "The desire on the part

of the German Catholics to intervene on behalf of the Pope to regain his lost possessions and the refusal of the German government to do so," it is stated, "created the Center party, and it was against the Center party that the Kulturkampf was originally waged." On the other hand, it is alleged that with the disappearance of the danger of a monarchist restoration in France, and with it clericalism, "one of Bismark's chief reasons for persistence in the Kulturkampf was thus rapidly ceasing to exist." The courageous resistance of the German bishops and Catholic laity, as well as international distaste for the whole dismal business, must also be given due credit for the failure of a "culture war" which Hitler tried to revive and for much the same real reasons as Bismark entertained.

With acute observation, the author asks "May not Pius IX, who certainly regarded himself as God's Vicar on earth, have been fighting against a force which would smother and stifle the spiritual independence of the Sovereign Pontiff?" The answer to that question, quite apart from the details of judgment exercised by the Pope in an era devoted to the worship of nationalism and natural science, holds the key, not only to the nineteeth century but also to the twentieth. In the undertones of this thought, and not merely in the simple recounting, and sometimes bunching, of facts, this book does credit to the scholarship of the author and recommends this book to every student of the nineteenth century.

James A. Magner.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Back issues of *The North Carolina Historical Review* may be procured from the State Department of Archives and History at 50 cents per copy or $2 per volume, by writing Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Division of Publications, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C. A limited number of complete files of the publication is still available.

Dr. John Tate Lanning of Duke University is on sabbatical leave to do research in the Spanish Archives. Dr. Lanning, who has completed the preliminary drafts on two books on the intellectual history of Spain in America, will give special attention to the Spanish Empire in America prior to the nineteenth century.

Mr. Marvin R. Farley of Eatonton, Georgia, has become an instructor in history at Western Carolina Teachers College. Mr. Farley holds the master's degree for the University of North Carolina.

Mr. Irby C. Nichols, Jr., of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, has become an instructor in history and political science at Catawba College. Mr. Nichols is filling the vacancy created by the resignation of Mr. F. K. Howard who resigned to rejoin the United States Army.

Mr. W. M. Brown has become a member of the staff of the Department of History, Elon College. Mr. Brown, formerly a member of the faculty of Washington and Lee University and the founder of Atlantic University, is filling the position left vacant by the resignation of Mr. C. W. Paskins.

World History, a high school text book by Doctor W. E. Caldwell and Mr. E. H. Merrill of the University of North Carolina, has just been published by Benjamin H. Sanborn and Company. The price is $3.95.

Dr. Joseph J. Mathews, professor of History at Emory University, will be visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the first session of summer school.

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina is on leave of absence for the winter quarter. He is visiting professor of history at Stanford University.

Mr. Horace W. Raper of the University of North Carolina has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at East Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky.

The following members of the History Department of the University of North Carolina attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December: Professors H. A. Bierck, Jr., W. E. Caldwell, James L. Godfred, Cecil Johnson, J. E. King, H. T. Lefler, A. R. Newsome, and C. H. Pegg.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College appeared on the program of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. in December. The subject of her paper was "The Whigs and the Liberal Pope, 1846-1850."

Dr. Richard Bardolph, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, is writing a series of articles on the agricultural revolution in the Middle West and is using Illinois as a case study. These articles will appear under the general title of "Illinois Agriculture in Transition, 1820-1870." Two have already appeared in *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* XLI, nos 3 and 4 (September and December, 1948).

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History on February 19 talked to the Bloomsbury chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution on the early settlement and history of North Carolina.

A memorial honoring James B. White was unveiled on February 23 on the courthouse square at Whiteville. White was the co-founder of Columbus County and Whiteville was named in his honor. Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History and State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, presented the memorial which was accepted by Mr. Arthur W. Williamson, chairman of the board of county commissioners, on behalf of the county.

The late Richard R. Saunders of Reidsville wrote a history of the First Baptist Church of Reidsville entitled "Open Doors and Closed Windows," which has just been released. This book is illustrated with colored plates, photographs, and sketches, and contains 308 pages. It was printed by Seeman Printery, Inc., Durham, N. C.

Dr. Percy Powell of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress was awarded the Lincoln Diploma of Honor for the year 1948 by the Lincoln Memorial University. Dr. Powell graduated from the University of North Carolina and has been with the Library of Congress for many years. This diploma was awarded in recognition of work with the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the papers of Abraham Lincoln.

Dr. Karl Bode, professor of English at the University of Maryland, is writing a book entitled *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind.* Dr. Bode's study will include the cultural history and literary aspects of the lecture system in the United States, 1830-1860. Any person having information concerning the existence in his locality of a lyceum should communicate with Dr. Bode.

Dr. Harry Woodburn Chase of New York University has announced the receipt of a grant of $35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of problems dealing with the preservation of business records. The project will be undertaken by the National Records Management Council. The grant, according to Dr. Cochran, president of the National Records Council, will be

used by the Council to provide more effective records management programs in business, to provide experienced counsel and training to that end, and to assist in the establishment of company archives. The council and the business school administration of New York University are offering new courses in records management and archives administration during the spring semester. The staff officers of the program recently appointed are: Dr. Emmett J. Leahy, executive director; Joseph P. Brennen, associate director; and Robert A. Shiff, records management consultant and assistant to the executive director.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians, members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and interested persons held a joint meeting at Moore's Creek Battle Grounds on February 27. It was the 173rd anniversary of the Moore's Creek Battle in which patriots of the lower Cape Fear Valley defeated the Scotish Highlanders. The whigs were under the command of General Alexander Lillington, for whom the county seat of Harnett County was named. Mr. Clifton L. Moore, Solicitor of the Eighth Judicial District, presided at the meeting. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, head of the State Department of Archives and History, delivered an address, as did Mr. Paul Green of the University of North Carolina, Representative J. V. Whitfield of Pender County, Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the Society of County Historians, and Mr. George Patterson, an attorney of Burgaw. Miss Mattie Bloodworth, Pender County historian, was given high praise for her work in discovering and preserving the history of that county.

Miss Laura S. Worth of Asheboro during the first week of March made a display in the courthouse of historical documents and manuscripts illustrating the history of Randolph County. Many school children with their teachers visited these displays and studied them in an effort to become more familiar with the history of their county. March 8 marked the 170 anniversary of the establishment of Randolph County.

The North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution held their State Convention in Asheville March 2. Miss Virginia

Horne of Wadesboro was elected state regent succeeding Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern. Mrs. George Moland of Hendersonville was elected vice-regent and Mrs. Ruth Allen Lyons of Wadesboro was elected corresponding secretary. Mr. Brandon Hodges, state treasurer, made the principal address.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. J. C. Harrington is regional archeologist, National Park Service, involving field work and research at various historic sites including Fort Raleigh and Jamestown. His address is United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Region One, Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Elisha P. Douglass is a graduate student in history at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Mr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., is a Waddell Memorial Fellow in history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden is director of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. George W. Paschal is an emeritus professor of Greek at Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

Mr. George Myers Stephens is editor and publisher of *The Southern Packet* and owner of the Stephens Press, Asheville, North Carolina.

Dr. Mary Callum Wiley is a retired teacher of English in the R. J. Reynolds High School. She writes a daily column for the Twin-City Sentinel of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Dr. Alice M. Baldwin is the former dean of the Woman's College and professor of history at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Dr. Douglas L. Rights is pastor of the Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, and president of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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JOHN RUSSELL: "LORD JOHN" OF CHARLESTON

By MADELEINE B. STERN

In Charleston, one autumn evening in the 1850's, a group of young men might have been seen walking along narrow King Street until they paused at No. 251, a large store with handsome plate-glass windows and a name in prominent gilt letters above the main door.[1] The young men had already earned enviable reputations in Southern society, and whatever careers they had embarked upon, they were all, in addition, of a literary turn. There was the handsome Basil Gildersleeve, who had received his doctor's degree from Göttingen and was about to enter upon a long and honorable life as professor of Greek at the University of Virginia; there was young Dr. John Dickson Burns, soon to teach physiology at the New Orleans School of Medicine; there was the vigorous young lawyer, Samuel Lord; and there were others, who, in the leisurely fashion of Charleston in the '50's, met at No. 251 King Street, to talk perhaps of shooting and riding, of racing and the Cecilia Society, to talk surely of life and letters and the Southern culture they were themselves creating.

[1] For the description of Russell's bookstore and the literary gatherings there, see Van Wyck Brooks, *The Times of Melville and Whitman* (New York, 1947), 71; Virginia P. Clare, *Harp of the South* (Oglethorpe University, Georgia, 1936), 51; Sidney J. Cohen, "Three Notable Ante-Bellum Magazines of South Carolina," *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, no. 42, part II (July, 1915), 38-39; "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News*, November 23, 1871 (courtesy Dorothy Smith, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina); Charles Duffy, *The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne* (Baton Rouge 1945), 4; Paul Hamilton Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac*, New Series, I, 6 (November 1885), 327 ff.; "The Late John Russell," *The Charleston Daily Courier*, November 23, 1871 (courtesy B. E. Powell and Mrs. Anne C. Orr, Duke University, and Kathleen Blow, University of Texas); Edgar Long, *Russell's Magazine As An Expression of Ante-Bellum South Carolina Culture* (doctoral dissertation in typescript, University of South Carolina, 1932), 42 ff.; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge, 1938), 488; Alfred T. Odell, "William Gilmore Simms in the Post-War Years," *Bulletin of Furman University*, vol. XXIX, no. 3 (May, 1946), 73; La Salle C. Pickett, *Literary Hearthstones of Dixie* (Philadelphia and London, 1912), 82-83, 109, 141; *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), VII, 453-454; Samuel G. Stoney, "The Memoirs of Frederick Augustus Porcher," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. XLIV, no. 2 (April, 1943), 65; Henry T. Thompson, *Henry Timrod* (Columbia, S. C., 1928), 26; William P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston and New York, 1892), 228-229.

The gilt letters above the door should have spelled the name of the "Globe" or the "Cocoa Tree," but though the store at No. 251 was in reality the mecca of culture in a city that was itself the center of the cultural South, it was, after all, only a bookstore, and the sign above the door spelled simply the name of the proprietor, John Russell.

As the young men entered, they were greeted by Russell, a brisk, active, self-confident man in his early forties, eager to show them the latest Elzevier or black-letter work imported from abroad, hospitably beckoning them past the counters and heavily laden shelves to his sanctum in the rear of the store. There the young men would see their elders gathered on chairs and sofas about a large comfortable stove, and there they would find a salon that rivaled the famous breakfasts of Poinsett or the equally famous suppers of William Gilmore Simms. Simms himself was, by the divine right of poetry, king among those who flocked to Russell's bookstore, and his tall, vigorous form dominated the scene as he played Dr. Johnson to a group of ardent versifying Boswells that included Paul Hamilton Hayne and Henry Timrod. In another corner one might see James Petigru, the social lion whose magnificent voice and dark eyes had helped make him the Nestor of the Charleston bar. The gray-headed guileless planter, William J. Grayson, was ready to discourse upon the South's "peculiar institution," slavery, while the beetle-browed Mitchell King buttonholed Russell to repeat in his Scottish brogue long passages from the Latin poets, and that man of fire and air, James W. Miles, dilated upon philosophy. Among them all, the host of No. 251 moved, accepting a pinch of snuff from Father Lynch, discussing a new botanical work with Dr. Porcher, fetching a medical tome for Dr. Dickson.

Here, in the rear room of a Charleston bookstore, seated at a fire or standing up for rhetorical effectiveness, were gathered the brightest lights in the Southern constellations. Had John Russell achieved nothing else in his life beyond drawing them together, he would have merited a claim to fame. Actually, he did considerably more than that for his patrons, and hence for Southern letters.

Who was the man who attracted the illuminati of the South, whose bookshop was their favorite rendezvous in the leisurely

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AS FAR AS IS KNOWN THIS IS THE ONLY EXTANT CATALOGUE ISSUED BY RUSSELL AND JONES. COPY IN THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

antebellum days of Charleston, who displayed to them his latest shipment from abroad during the golden afternoons and glorious evenings of the '50's? John Russell has suffered the paradoxical fate of being remembered as a famous man about whom little else is known. The Southerner recalls his celebrated bookstore, the Northerner may associate him with *Russell's Magazine,* but with these points, memory fails. In reality, Southern literature owes an important debt to John Russell, for he not only provided the literati of his time with books but supplied them with organs for self-expression by publishing their own books. He was a bookseller and publisher whose influence was felt throughout the literary South, and as such he deserves a more substantial memorial than he has received.

John Russell[2] was born in Charleston in 1812, just before war with England was declared, and though he was not to die until 1871, another, more dreadful war was to mark the finis to his career. After the death of his father, his mother appears to have remarried, taking the name of Rachel Jones. Two sons born of that second marriage were to be associated with Russell in the book business, and a daughter of that second marriage was to become Russell's sole heir at his death. In other words, the hospitality and generosity that the bookseller extended to his patrons were also bestowed upon his half-brothers and half-sister. According to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Russell was "educated in the book-trade" and "had mastered, at a comparatively early age, its requisitions and technicalities."[3] It was in the bookstore of John P. Beile, the predecessor of Samuel Hart of Charleston, that Russell learned the rudiments of the trade. Through the *Charleston Directory* his career may be followed as he rose "from grade to grade in the service." In the *Directory* for 1835-36, when Russell was in his early twenties, he was located at 172 King Street as an accountant. At the same address appeared the mili-

[2] "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News* (November 23, 1871) states that Russell was born in 1813. His death certificate, however, records that he died on November 21, 1871, at the age of 59 years and 8 months, thus placing his birth in March, 1812. For other biographical details about Russell, see *The Charleston Directory,* 1835-1836; *Charleston Directory and Strangers' Guide, 1840 and 1841* (courtesy Dorothy Smith, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina); Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac* (November, 1885), 327 ff.; Long, *Russell's Magazine As An Expression of Ante-Bellum South Carolina Culture,* 43 ff.; information from A. S. Salley, Columbia, S. C.; William Gilmore Simms to Hon. R. T. Conrad, Charleston, October 19, 1847, and William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

[3] Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," *The Southern Bivouac* (November, 1885), 327.

tary and fancy store of John S. Bird, where Russell doubtless became acquainted not only with a general assortment of spectacles but with Bird's fine French looking glass plates and his engravings and paintings direct from Paris. His familiarity with art objects probably proved useful when he joined Jacob K. Sass to form the firm of Russell and Sass, auctioneers and commercial merchants, for it is under that heading that he is listed in the *Directory* of 1840 and 1841. When, at length, Russell acquired the necessary capital, he opened his own "literary emporium." Though he never diverged from King Street, he did move at least three times, appearing in 1848 at No. 256, moving later to No. 251, and still later to No. 285. He strayed farther, however, in his travels. As early as 1847 he was in Philadelphia on a business trip, two years later he traveled to New York bearing a letter of introduction from William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, and at least once he journeyed to Europe, for on the Channel packet he was mistaken for Lord John Russell, and the sobriquet, "Lord John," clung to him for the remainder of his life. In 1859 he seems to have planned an extended absence from the country, but perhaps the growing antislavery excitement dissuaded him from the project. The Civil War itself was not only to change his plans, but was to have a most disastrous effect upon his business as well.

Before that time, however, Russell had developed business methods that were to provide him with a notable reputation. He was a man of bright, quick mind, in whom native shrewdness joined with a kind heart and generosity.[4] The information he had acquired made him a clever and witty conversationalist, suited to be "Lord John" of the Charleston literati. Enterprising, intelligent, popular, he could preside easily over the illustrious group that met in the rear of his store. What is more, his knowledge of books made him one of the most successful booksellers of the South, until Augustus Flagg of Little, Brown could state that he sold more fine books in proportion to the population than almost any other,[5] and Trübner of London declared him one of

[4] For Russell's personal characteristics, see Hayne, "Ante-Bellum Charleston," 330, 335; Paul H. Hayne, ed., *The Poems of Henry Timrod* (New York, 1873), 23; Long, *Russell's Magazine*, 43-44; Mott, *History of American Magazines, 1850-1865*, 488; A. S. Salley, Jr., "Southern Magazines," *The* (Charleston) *Sunday News*, August 27, 1899 (courtesy John Cook Wyllie, University of Virginia).

[5] J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1884), 674.

the most accomplished bibliopoles in the United States.[6] Perhaps more telling than any other token to his reputation is that letter of introduction that Russell carried in September, 1849, from Simms to Duyckinck, a letter bringing its recipient "to a personal knowledge of my friend, Mr. John Russell, of this city, whom you perhaps already know as a bookseller of great worth and intelligence."[7] Simms was to write again to Duyckinck, describing Russell as "a very worthy gentleman and a first rate Bookseller," "a worthy and intelligent person upon whom you can rely."[8] Simms spoke authoritatively, for Russell was not only his friend, but his bookseller and his publisher.

As a bookseller, Russell had earned his reputation. His store was not merely a rendezvous for his illustrious patrons, but a post office as well. The poet Simms, in writing to Northern bookmen, wished to be addressed in care of Russell, and other facilities were also provided for customers.[9] At a table in the back of the store the literary folk of Charleston were welcome to sit and examine new books, while careful young men were given the privilege of taking home a new book over-night to look it over and decide if they wished to keep it. But perhaps, in addition to such bookstore delights, the greatest advantage of trading with Russell arose from the wide range and variety of his stock. From a single extant catalogue[10] and from his newspaper advertisements,[11] the latter-day scholar may return the lost books to the shelves, brush off the dust of a century, and walk again through the King Street emporium.

Basil Gildersleeve probably found the most interesting section of Russell's bookstore that devoted to the classics, and even within that category the range was great. Lemaire's *Collection of the Latin Classics,* consisting of 144 calf-bound volumes, might be his for $250, while Bodoni's edition of the *Iliad,* in three royal

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[6] "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News,* November 23, 1871.

[7] Simms to Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

[8] Simms to Duyckinck, Charleston, September 27, 1849, and Woodlands, February 25, n.y. Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

[9] For these facilities, see Simms to Conrad, Charleston, October 19, 1847, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library; information from Ellen M. Fitzsimons, Charleston Library Society, and A. S. Salley.

[10] *Part First Of A Catalogue of rare, curious, and useful Books! For Sale By Russell & Jones, No. 251 King Street,* University of Chicago, (courtesy B. E. Powell, Duke University Library).

[11] See Russell's advertisements in *The Charleston Mercury* May 3, 1855-September 5, 1855, May 12, 1857, December 8-29, 1860, April 17, 1861-June 14, 1862 (courtesy Oscar Wegelin, New York Historical Society).

folio volumes, was offered for $50, and the first volume of Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus* sold for only $2.50.

For young Dr. Burns, or Dr. Porcher, or any other of the medicos who strolled through the King Street emporium, there was a fine selection of medical works, from Carpenter on *The Microscope* to Rokitansky's *Manual of Pathological Anatomy,* from Guthrie's *Surgical Commentaries* to Tomes's *Dental Surgery.* Those of a turn for pure science might consider Hugh Miller's *Sketch Book of Popular Geology* cheap at $1.50, or Loomis's *Recent Progress of Astronomy* a most enlightening acquisition.

There was a happy hunting ground for Father Lynch and his colleagues in other denominations in Russell's excellent assortment of theological works, for the firm acted as agents for the Protestant Episcopal Church Book Society and the Evangelical Knowledge Society, carrying a full stock of all their publications. In addition, Russell received from London a wide variety of foreign theological works, from the *Liturgies of Queen Elizabeth* to Maimbourg's *History of Arianism.* Strickland's *History of the American Bible Society,* Baird's *Religion in America,* catechisms, psalms, hymns, and sermons gave Russell's theological section the air of a complete Bibliotheca Biblica for all patrons of a clerical turn. James W. Miles and those who like him indulged in metaphysical speculation would find more to their interest in the shelves devoted to philosophy, from which Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of the Mind* could be taken down for $9 or Sir William Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics* for $3.

As grandson of the famous historian, young David Ramsay might have found much to interest him in Russell's historical selections, where the original subscriber's copy of Hume's *History of England* at $150 vied with Brougham's *Historical Sketches of Statesmen under George III* and Gurowski's *Russia As It Is.* For only $1 he might own a *Life of Peter the Great,* for $1.25 Gretton's *Vicissitudes of Italy Since the Congress of Vienna,* and for $2 White's *History of France.*

Young Ramsay did not know, when he visited Russell's, that he was destined to lose his life at Fort Wagner, but perhaps he was attracted none the less by the growing collection of military works which in the early '60's found their way to the bookstore —manuals for volunteers, instructions for field artillery, Mahan's

Treatise on Field Fortification, books on rifle practice, outpost duties, and cavalry tactics.

Young scholars returned from Göttingen might have enjoyed Russell's display of travel books in which they might browse, transported by Richard H. Dana to Cuba, by Kane to the Arctic, by others to the mysteries of Fiji.

Charles Fraser, the celebrated miniaturist, doubtless headed directly for the fine collection of art books that included a brilliantly illustrated four-volume *Galerie de Florence* for $125, and a select variety of other *Galleries,* from that of the *Pictures at Grosvenor House* to the finely engraved *Galerie de Dusselldorff.* Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Drawing* and Mrs. Ellett on *Women Artists in All Ages* probably pleased him also, giving him food for interesting talk of art with the proprietor, who as early as 1849 had taken in charge Mr. Fraser's own exquisite paintings, which Russell wished to place in the gallery of the Art Union.[12] It was not without reason that the King Street dealer advertised his firm as importers of books, stationery, and works of art.

Of all the books, however, that were offered by Russell, probably the most popular were his literary works. Hayne and Simms and Timrod, with all the Southern brotherhood of poets, must have found their keenest pleasure in turning the pages of Tennyson's latest verses or Duyckinck's *Encyclopedia of American Literature,* in browsing through Sir William Temple's *Works* or seeing proudly displayed on the shelves the tales and poems of William Gilmore Simms himself.

In selling books Russell believed in a varied stock. For the numismatic addict he could provide Humphrey's *Manual for Coin Collectors;* for the children there was a delightful array of juveniles among which *Granny's Wonderful Chair* vied with *Pussy's Road to Ruin.* For the Southern ladies who delighted in novels there was no dearth of stories by Charles Reade or "Marion Harland." For readers who wanted the latest in periodicals there was *Harper's* or *Blackwood's* or the *English Quarterly Review.*

Even in selling books, however, Russell never forgot that he himself was a Southerner and that, in the wide range of works

[12] William Gilmore Simms to E. A. Duyckinck, Charleston, September 3, 1849, Miscellaneous Collection, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

he offered, Southern books would always be given a place of distinction. W. J. Rivers' *Sketch of the History of South Carolina, The Old Plantation* by James Hungerford of Maryland, *Gardening for the South* found their proud place, therefore, among John Russell's varied wares.

Selling Southern books was one way of encouraging Southern letters, but providing an organ for the expression of Southern thought was perhaps a more effective way. Out of the *petits soupers* at which Simms presided, and out of the enthusiastic meetings in the rear of Russell's bookstore there emerged finally the suggestion for launching a magazine that would defend Southern institutions and reflect Southern sentiment.[13] Paul Hamilton Hayne and W. B. Carlisle, the Charleston journalist, were ready to serve as editors, and Russell, approached with the idea, eagerly agreed to act as publisher, taking on the business management of the new scheme. On January 1, 1857—the same year that saw the launching of the *Atlantic Monthly*—an announcement appeared in the *Charleston Daily Courier* regarding the new venture, which was to be dubbed *Russell's Magazine.* "We hope to make it a faithful representative Organ of Southern Genius, Taste and Opinions in every branch of Literature, Art, and General Politics. . . .

"In regard to its *form,* we shall make Blackwood's Magazine the model of our own, . . .

"Having adopted a system of liberal remuneration, we can ensue the services of the ablest writers."

The price would be $3 a year, and single numbers would be furnished and subscriptions received by agents throughout the Southern states.

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[13] For details about *Russell's Magazine,* see Cohen, *Three Notable Ante-Bellum Magazines of South Carolina, passim;* Information from Georgia H. Faison, University of North Carolina; Irving Garwood, *American Periodicals From 1850 To 1860* (Macomb, Illinois, 1931), 72; William S. Hoole, *A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals 1732-1864* (Durham, N. C., 1936), 5, 63-64; Jay B. Hubbell, *The Last Years of Henry Timrod, 1864-1867* (Durham, N. C., 1941), 4; Fronde Kennedy, "Russell's Magazine," *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* vol. XVIII, no. 2 (April 1919), 125-144; Long, *Russell's Magazine, passim;* Daniel M. McKeithan, *A Collection of Hayne Letters* (Austin, Texas, 1944), *passim;* Frank McLean, *Periodicals Published in the South Before the Civil War,* University of Virginia dissertation 1928 (courtesy Jack Dalton, University of Virginia); Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1850-1865,* 488 ff.; *Russell's Magazine* I, 1—VI, 6 (April, 1857—March, 1860), annotated copy in New York Public Library; "Russell's Magazine," *The Charleston Daily Courier,* January 1, 1857, 2 (courtesy B. E. Powell, Duke University, and Kathleen Blow, University of Texas); *The South in the Building of the Nation,* VII, 453; *The Southern Literary Messenger* (October 1856), 306 and (May 1857), 392; George A. Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1910), 15.

The magazine fulfilled its promise, though its career was destined to be short. In April, 1857, backed by a joint stock concern organized by Russell, the first number appeared, a neat thin octavo by, for, and of the South. The issue was introduced by an attack on antislavery doctrines by William J. Grayson and included the first part of J. E. Cooke's "Estcourt," a poem by Timrod, and Hayne's review of Poe's "Arthur Gordon Pym." Throughout its three years of existence *Russell's Magazine* served as a "depository for Southern genius, and a new incentive, . . . for its active exercise." "Believing that an organ of Southern genius and opinion was imperatively demanded, . . . we have undertaken to supply this great want."[14] In publishing the best of Timrod's earlier poems and essays, the works of Samuel Henry Dickson, King, and Simms, the magazine became an excellent organ of expression for the habitués of Russell's bookstore and hence for the literati of the South.

Russell's part in the enterprise was more than that of publisher. With the second number, after Carlisle had proved a disappointment to the staff, Russell became connected with the editorial management also, and at least one letter from the proprietor of the bookstore to a contributor survives, expressing his appreciation and acceptance of a review of *Aurora Leigh*.[15] The publisher's keen interest in the enterprise is indicated by the fact that he kept an annotated copy of the issues in bound volumes on his desk, in which he recorded the names of authors over their articles, and that very set, having survived the Civil War, at length found its way to the New York Public Library, where it serves as a reminder of John Russell's close connection with the magazine that bore his name.

In October, 1859, Russell, planning a protracted absence from the country, offered the periodical for sale,[16] but there seems to have been no purchaser for what was described as "a highly profitable investment in the hands of a person of energy and talent." In the last number of March, 1860, the publisher yielded "to the necessity which constrains us to discontinue . . . publication." He had provided the South with an important vehicle

[14] *Russell's Magazine* I, 1 (April, 1857), 82, and I, 2 (May, 1857), 178.
[15] John Russell to Miss Dickson, May 4, n. y. (Duke University, courtesy B. E. Powell).
[16] Slip dated October 1, 1859, and sent out with the October, 1859, issue of *Russell's Magazine* (courtesy A. S. Salley, Columbia, S. C.).

for self-expression and posterity with a notable record of sectional thought. But though his scheme was short-lived, there were other means, John Russell knew from experience, for supplying Southern literati with an audience.

Though Russell's connection with the magazine is still remembered, there are few who recall that in his day he was also a book publisher of no small influence. The South had need of such a publisher. In 1858 *Russell's Magazine* itself expressed that need. "The papers have recently been filled with articles in reference to Southern Publishing Houses; and much regret has been expressed that the expenses of book-printing at the South should be so great, as to deter an author from patronizing the publishers in his own section."[17] The events of every week indicated to Southern writers the need for the South "to declare, and to attempt to establish, her literary independence." As early as 1852, Walker, Richards of Charleston had tried to establish a large Southern publishing house for the encouragement of Southern authors and the dissemination of Southern books, but the plan had not materialized. By the time the Civil War began, the difficulty of importing Northern and European publications into the Confederate states, coupled with the increased demand for reading matter, heightened the need for a substantial Southern publisher. The ideas that characterized Southern society needed not only the exposition of a new literature, but the underwriting of a Southern publisher.

It cannot be said that John Russell supplied that great need. By branching out into publishing he did, however, serve the South, issuing—in a spasmodic fashion to be sure—the works of some of its most illustrious citizens. Every book bearing his imprint was, like his magazine, by, for, and of the South. The names of his authors read like a roll-call of those who frequented the literary sessions in the rear of his store, and since they were also the names of the most eminent among Southern literati, Russell's service in publishing their works is far from negligible. Between 1846 and 1855 he lent his name to a series of books in

[17] *Russell's Magazine*, vol. II, no. 6 (March, 1858), 566. For other details on the status of Southern publishing, see *Russell's Magazine*, vol. IV, no. 4 (January, 1859), 370 and vol. V, no. 5 (August, 1859), 395; Yates Snowden, *Confederate Books*, no. t. p., unpaged; "Southern Publications," *De Bow's Review*, New Series, vol. I, no. 2 (August, 1852), 211.

neat format and dignified typography, all of which echoed the varied voices of the South.[18]

The first book undertaken by Russell was, characteristically, William Gilmore Simms' *Areytos: or, Songs of the South,* a duodecimo that appeared in 1846, and which was followed two years later by Simms's *Cassique of Accabee* and his *Lays of the Palmetto,* and by the publication in 1853 of Simms's two-volume *Poems Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary and Contemplative.* Poetry seems to have been a favorite literary form with Russell, for he also sent forth a curious work by Catharine Poyas entitled *Huguenot Daughters and Other Poems,* as well as *The Hireling and Slave,* a versified apology for slavery by William J. Grayson. For one of his loyal patrons, James W. Miles, Russell published a number of discourses and orations, as well as his important work, *Philosophic Theology; or, Ultimate Grounds of All Religious Belief Based in Reason.* When Russell's friend, Louisa C. McCord of South Carolina, translated Bastiat's *Sophisms of the Protective Policy,* Russell was ready to join his name with that of George P. Putnam of New York in sponsoring the undertaking. When W. H. Trescot of Charleston desired a publisher for his *Thoughts on American Foreign Policy,* when Miles or Porcher eulogized Calhoun after his death in 1850, they turned to Russell to handle publication. Russell himself was particularly interested in seeing through the press books of a local or sectional quality, publishing Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee,* Charles Fraser's *Reminiscences of Charleston, House and Home; or, The Carolina Housewife By a lady of Charleston,* and, replete with finely engraved colored plates, Holbrook's *Ichthyology of South Carolina.* For local societies he proved a willing publisher, lending his name to Samuel Henry Dickson's *Speech at the Dinner of the New England Society of Charleston,* or to Miles's oration before the literary societies of the South Carolina College.

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[18] For the books published by Russell and by Russell and Jones, see, in addition to the imprints of the books themselves, *The American Catalogue—1866-1871;* Charles N. Baxter and James M. Dearborn, *Confederate Literature* (Boston, 1917), 106; *Catalogue of the Salley Collection of the Works of William Gilmore Simms* (Columbia, S. C., 1943), *passim;* William A. Courtenay, *A Catalogue of the Portraits, Books, . . . Presented to the Charleston Library Society* (Columbia, S. C., 1908), *passim;* James G. Johnson, *Southern Fiction Prior to 1860,* University of Virginia, 1909, 82; Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana 1820-1852, 1852-1855;* James F. Shearer, "French and Spanish Works Printed in Charleston, South Carolina," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* XXXIV (1940), 169; information from Robert J. Turnbull, Yemassee, S. C.; Oscar Wegelin, *A List of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms Of South Carolina 1806-1870* (Hattiesburg, 1941), *passim.*

By 1857, the year which saw the launching of *Russell's Magazine,* there had been a change in the firm name and in the imprints of Russell's publications. James C. Jones, Russell's half-brother, who had worked as a clerk in the bookstore, apparently had become a partner, and the firm's name was changed to Russell and Jones. It is possible, too, that another half-brother, Edward C. Jones, the Charleston architect, also entered the firm at this period, perhaps to supervise its fine arts department.[19] At any rate, it was the name of Russell and Jones that appeared as publishers of *Russell's Magazine,* and, between 1857 and 1860, of other Southern publications, all of which followed the trends established by Russell earlier in his career. Grayson's poem, *The Country,* took the place of *The Hireling and Slave; The South Carolina Jockey Club* whetted local interest, as did Simms's *History of South Carolina,* while the new firm sponsored the publications of such local organizations as the Elliott Society of Natural History of Charleston, of which John Russell was a member.[20]

One work, published in 1857 by Russell and Jones, typifies the firm's desire to serve as what might be called publishers indigenous to the South. *Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina* by Tuomey and Holmes had previously appeared without plates, but at the "urgent solicitation" of Agassiz, Bache, and Gould, it was published now as a folio with 29 plates. Its artistic merits would "challenge the severest criticism." What is more, the work was offered to the public as "a good specimen of what can be done by our artists at home."[21] The drawings on stone were executed at the College of Charleston by C. G. Platen; the letter press was, in part, the work of Halper and Calvo and James and Williams, native Charleston printers. Since there was no press for printing the plates in Charleston, that work had to be done elsewhere, but otherwise the volume, for 200 copies of which the legislature subscribed, was indeed an excellent example of Southern workmanship as well as of the publishing ideals and purposes of John Russell.

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[19] For details about the Jones brothers, see Beatrice St. J. Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston* (Charleston, 1945), 215, 296 n. 49.

[20] *Proceedings of the Elliott Society of Natural History of Charleston, S. C.,* I, 4.

[21] M. Tuomey and F. S. Holmes, *Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina* (Charleston: Russell and Jones, 1857), preface.

By 1860, the last date when a Russell and Jones imprint appeared, the firm's stock of goods was valued at $20,000.[22] Russell and Jones could afford to turn some of their profits from bookselling into book publishing, could undertake more or less unremunerative enterprises, and could give to the South such finely illustrated works as Holmes' *Post-Pleiocene Fossils of South-Carolina.* Their relations with Northern publishers had been established on a firm foundation, and they appear to have served as agents for the publications of Redfield, Appleton, and Harper in New York, and Bentley in London. Perhaps in time Russell and Jones might indeed have developed into that great Southern publishing house of which the region felt so sore a need. Fort Sumter, however, was soon to signify more than a name, and the year 1860 was to make way for the more eventful year of 1861. The guns were to be fired over Charleston, presaging ruin to the "Globe," the "Cocoa Tree" of King Street, and the time had come to talk of other things than books.

Just before the outbreak of the war, Russell suffered a personal loss in the death, by drowning, of his half-brother, James C. Jones.[23] Not long after, in December, 1861, his mother died.[24] No more books bearing the imprint of Russell and Jones would appear, and only a very few works remained to be published by John Russell. Those few would attest, however, his determination to carry on in the face of the havoc that surrounded him.

In order to save his stock from the effects of bombardment, Russell, like so many of the book dealers of more recent times, stored his wares beyond the reach of shot and shell.[25] But Camden, the town he selected, was to prove a poor choice, for it lay in the line of Sherman's march. Russell himself, besides serving as the adjutant of a battalion of reserves,[26] found the time and courage to publish what proved to be "the most elegant book, as to paper, printing and binding, which appeared in the South during the war."[27] *The Life and Times of Bertrand Du Guesclin: A History of the Fourteenth Century* by D. F. Jamison

[22] *List of the Tax Payers of the City of Charleston for 1860* (Charleston, 1861), 247.
[23] James C. Jones died on March 17, 1861. Jones's death record, courtesy Beatrice St. J. Ravenel, Charleston.
[24] Information from A. M. Gayer, Superintendent, Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston.
[25] "The Late John Russell," *Charleston Daily Courier,* November 23, 1871.
[26] "The Death of Mr. John Russell," *Charleston Daily News,* November 23, 1871. According to F. M. Hutson, chief clerk, Historical Commission of South Carolina, however, the index to Confederate rolls does not list a John Russell as adjutant.
[27] Snowden, *Confederate Books,* unpaged.

of South Carolina was a far cry from the history of the nineteenth century in Charleston, but in that city it was published in 1864, a two-volume set with a frontispiece portrait of Sir Bertrand, dedicated by the author to William Gilmore Simms—a work that bore testimony to what a publisher could accomplish in the face of the most extreme difficulty.

Charleston, the proudest city of the South, had been bombarded and fired. By the time the war was over, it was a place of vacant houses, rotting wharves, and lifeless, grass-grown streets, where yawning walls and shattered windows were reminders of the disaster that had befallen it. John Russell, returning to Camden to claim his stock, was confronted by a sorry and disheartening sight. Sherman's soldiers had recklessly broken open the cases, scattering or destroying the contents, and when the remnants were gathered there was little left of his once valuable wares. With that meager stock John Russell set up business again, at No. 285 King Street, but the days of the "Globe" and "Cocoa Tree" were over. The proprietor himself had but five more years to live, surrounded by shadows of his former greatness. At least twice he undertook book publication, in 1867 issuing Ephraim Seabrook's *Ariel Refuted. A Complete Exposure. Of A Pamphlet Entitled "The Negro,"* and in 1870 sending forth William Trescot's *Memorial of the Life of J. Johnston Pettigrew, Brig. Gen. of the Confederate States Army.* To the end Russell remained faithful to his desire to give expression to the voice of the South. But that voice was, by 1871, all but stilled.

Few were left to recall those brilliant sessions that had taken place in the rear of another bookstore on King Street during the proud mid-century. Paul Hamilton Hayne remembered, however, and during a journey from New York to "Copse Hill," he passed through Charleston, visiting John Russell. The superb collection of beautifully bound books had disappeared, and in their place stood empty shelves. The proprietor had grown old, although he was not yet sixty. The brisk, active, confident "Lord John" had vanished. With a melancholy greeting, Russell welcomed Hayne, waving his hand around the store and by that gesture conveying a sense of the desolation that surrounded him. It was a place of ghosts, ghosts of people and ideas as well as of books.

Before his death, part of the remnants of Russell's stock was sold at a sacrifice.[28] On November 21, 1871, the proprietor died of heart disease, leaving his estate to his half-sister, Eliza Catherine Jones.[29] The stock, once assessed at $20,000, was valued after his death at $2,500.[30] There were intangibles, however, disregarded by the "Inventory of Goods and Chattels of John Russell, Deceased." There is no mention in that document of his attempt to provide an organ for Southern thought by selling and publishing Southern books and by giving to the literati of the South a meeting-place and a springboard for self-expression. Yet much of the literary work produced in the South in antebellum days owes a debt to John Russell, the bookseller-publisher who played his significant role behind the scenes. He left a more substantial estate than he realized, for he bequeathed a heritage to history.

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[28] Long, *Russell's Magazine*, 65.
[29] Copy of Russell's death certificate and abstract of Russell's Will, courtesy Ellen M. Fitzsimons, Charleston Library Society.
[30] Inventory of Goods and Chattels of John Russell, Deceased, in Office of Judge of Probate, Charleston.

THE GOURD IN SOUTHERN HISTORY

By Eddie W. Wilson

According to archeologists and ethnologists, gourds were of economic importance to the earliest peoples of the South.[1] Then, immediately after the coming of the white man to this area, artist, historian, traveler, and diarist began to include the gourd in their delightful descriptions of this new land and its inhabitants. Finally, mention of the gourd has persisted throughout the years and today it is frequently found in Southern prose and poetry.

From numerous archeological sites have come fragments of gourds, gourd vessels, and gourd-shaped ceramics. Among those who have made such discoveries or have written concerning them are N. C. Nelson, who found gourd-cups and bits of gourd shells in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, in an age-level devoid of evidence of maize culture[2]; W. S. Webb and W. D. Funkhouser, who list pieces of gourds, gourd seeds, and a gourd-shaped vessel of black clay from bluff,[3] rock shelter,[4] and "ashe cave"[5] dwellings of prehistoric Kentuckians; F. H. Cushing, who found gourd vessels and gourd-shaped clay vessels which had been left "in profusion"[6] by the "pile-dwellers" on the gulf coast of Florida; and W. H. Holmes, the eminent ethnologist, who made extensive studies of early American ceramic art.

As to this art, Dr. Holmes says that in vegetal form for pottery the gourd predominated in the South. It is "probably the most varied and suggestive natural vessel. We find that the

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[1] In keeping with the place the gourd has held in the South's history, the Gourd Club of Cary, North Carolina—the Alpha Chapter of the Gourd Society of America whose headquarters are in Boston, Massachusetts—holds an annual Gourd Festival. Here, in adidtion to the displays of hard-shell and ornamental gourds grown each season by the members, are exhibits of old gourds which have served in the past in ways mentioned in this article together with surprisingly varied types of the members' gourd craftsmanship. Moreover, a broader phase of the gourd is emphasized: its significance, symbolism, and usages in many parts of the world. Thus the Festival promotes in a singular manner the spirit of internationalism.

[2] N. C. Nelson, "Contributions to the Archeology of Mammoth Cave and Vicinity," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, Part 1, XVII, 29.

[3] W. S. Webb and W. D. Funkhouser, "The McLeed Buff Site in Hickman County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, University of Kentucky, III, 29.

[4] "Rock Shelters in Manifee County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, III, 155.

[5] "The So-called 'Ash-Caves' in Lee County, Kentucky," reports in *Archeology and Anthropology*, I, 57.

[6] Quoted by W. H. Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 128.

primitive potter has often copied it in the most literal manner."[7] Furthermore, in the process of shaping such clay vessels, he states that sections of gourd shell served as molds on "the inner surface to support the wall . . . while scrapers were used to manipulate the exterior surface which rendered the walls sufficiently thin and even and polished." Then he adds that in many instances the scrapers were pieces of gourd shell.[8]

Again, a strikingly handsome example of a gourd dipper in pottery form, pleasingly decorated, came from a mound in southern Alabama.[9] And in Noel Stone Grave Cemetery in middle Tennessee was found a little terra-cotta gourd-shaped rattle, "well burned but slightly fractured in digging." Inside the rattle were clay pellets. "This may have quieted many an urchin in prehistoric days."[10]

Then, in later years, certain successors of these gourd-growers and potters fortunately for us were portrayed in art just as they were first seen by colonizing expeditions which came to North Carolina and Florida. Here in the wonderful water color drawings of John White and the exquisite paintings of Jacques Le Moyne we see the gourd as dish or bowl, container, water-jar, and rattle. Indeed, White's "A chieff Ladye of Pomeiooc" is carrying a "gourde full of some kinde of pleasant liquor." One wonders if this was a native perfume or a native drink!

Also, the gourd was serving certain Southern tribes as ladle, dry measure, bait container, fish carrier, strainer, funnel, flageolet, whistle, life-belt float, martin's nest, and mask.[11] The Rappahannock Indians of Virginia had a gourd lamp which consisted of a gourd filled with clay and slivers of "fatwood" thrust in the center of the clay.[12]

It was in the religious life of the early Southern Indian, however, that the gourd played its most colorful role. Here the gourd rattle was especially prized as the instrument of magic in the hands of the shaman, medicine man, or priest.

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[7] Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,* 446.

[8] Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," *Fourth Anual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,* 54.

[9] Henry Clyde Shetrone, *The Mound-builders,* 141.

[10] Gates P. Thurston, *The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States,* 164.

[11] Frank G. Speck, *Gourds of the Southeastern Indians,* 51.

[12] Frank G. Speck, "The Gourd Lamp among the Virginia Indians," *American Anthropoligist,* XLIII, 676.

The Comanche medicine man was known to rattle his gourd all night long as he prayed and chanted.[13] The ruler of the Tejas Indians interpreted the noise of his rattle, when thrown on the ground, as the voice of God answering to grant or to refuse the ruler's petition for "a great deal of corn, good health, fleetness in chasing the deer and the buffalo, and great strength for fighting their enemies."[14] When Cabeza de Vaca and his companions of the Coronado Expedition were traveling through Texas, "he secured some gourds or rattles, which were greatly reverenced among these Indians and which never failed to produce a most respectful behavior whenever they were exhibited."[15] In the Green Corn Dance of the Creeks of Alabama, "the structures of the sacred square were festooned with gourd vines"; gourd rattles provided an accompaniment to the "low sustained chant" of the dancers; and the "black drink" of purification for the new year just beginning was taken "with a most reverential expression" from a gourd dipper.[16] William Byrd, Daniel Boone, George Washington, and many others have given us interesting descriptions of Indian festivities in which the gourd rattle was the principal musical instrument.

It is not surprising that the white settlers in the South, having seen how useful gourds were to the Indian, began to plant them in their gardens. When Anna Catharina moved from Pennsylvania to the Moravian settlement of Bethabara in North Carolina in 1762, she mentioned gourds as among the plants in the gardens there.[17] The agricultural and horticultural enthusiast, Thomas Jefferson, was very proud of the gourds he grew in his garden at Monticello and the gourd seeds he gave to friends both in America and in France. According to his garden diary he raised both the common varieties and unusual ones. He once sent Bernard McMahon, seedsman and florist of Philadelphia, certain seed of which McMahon wrote Jefferson on December 26, 1806:

"Of the Cucurbita you were so kind as to send me, some grew to the length of five feet five inches. I have one of them now

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[13] J. Frank Dobie, "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas, Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society*. XIII, 33.

[14] Mattie Austin Hatcher, "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXV, 291.

[15] George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1942," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, 360

[16] John R. Swanton, "The Green Corn Dance," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 10, 181.

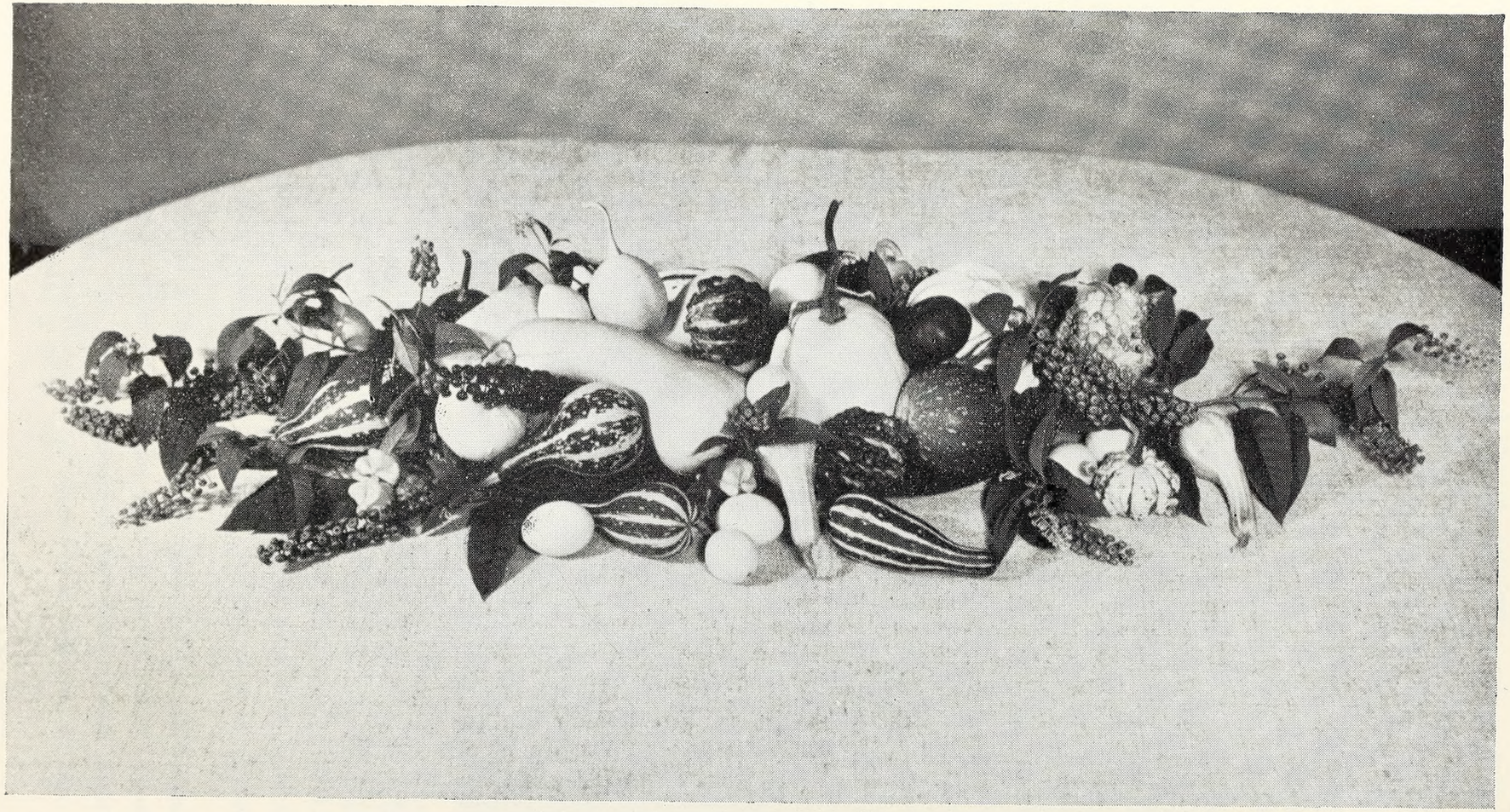
[17] Adelaide L. Fries, *The Road to Salem*, 109.



SOAP GOURD FROM FARM OF JORDAN W. JOHNSON IN EDGECOMBE COUNTY. IN STATE MUSEUM. GIFT OF MISS LINDA JOHNSON OF TARBORO.

ANCIENT GOURD COVERED WITH SPLIT CANE. IT HAS A WIRE HANDLE AND WOODEN STOPPER. IN STATE MUSEUM. GIFT OF JAMES F. HATCH.

POWDER GOURD, AND MARY SLOCUMB GOURD DIPPER. IN HALL OF HISTORY.



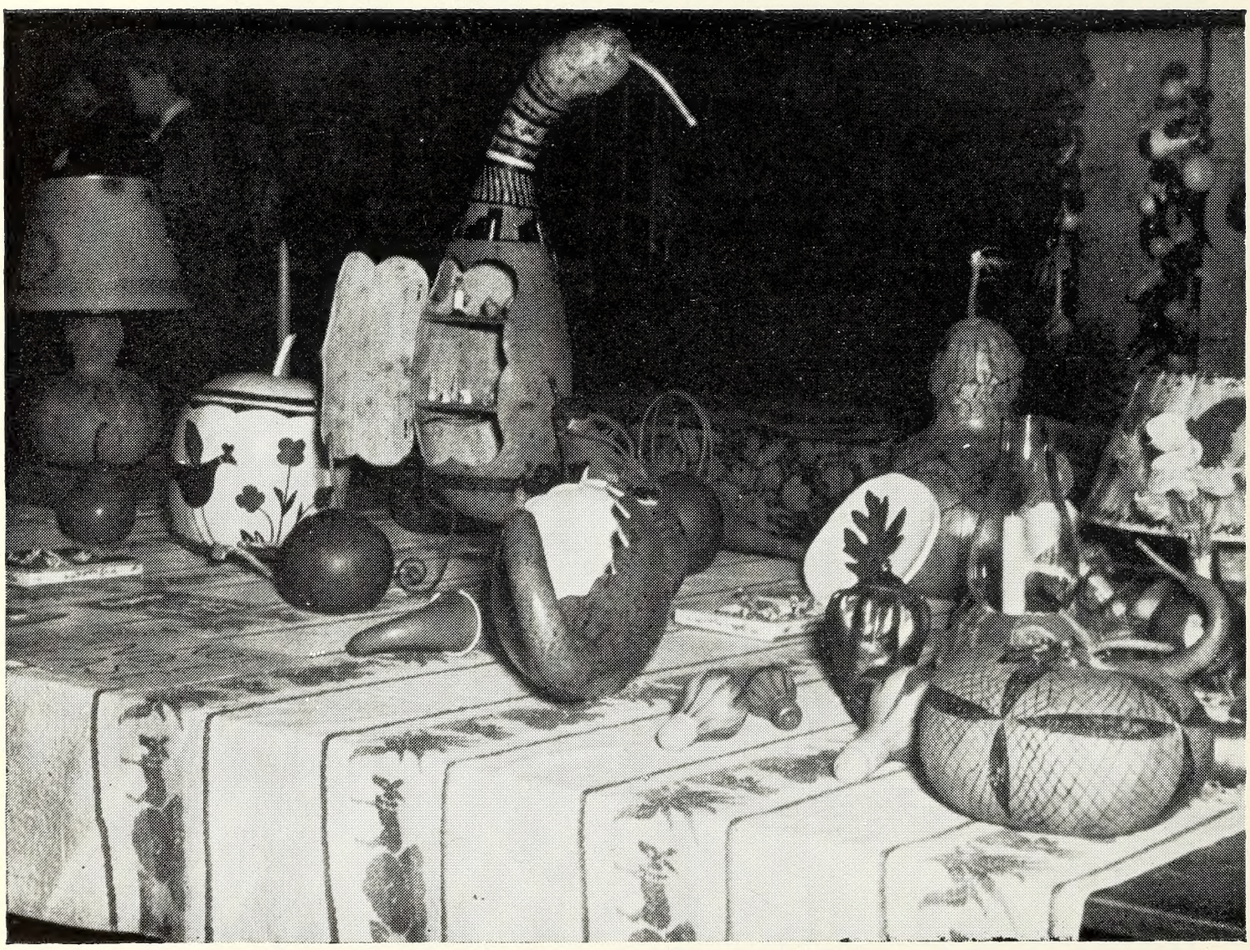
ARRANGEMENT OF ORNAMENTAL GOURDS.

Photograph by J. K. Coggin



Photo by J. K. Coggin

CRAFT DISPLAY AT CARY GOURD CLUB FESTIVAL, 1948. *LEFT TO RIGHT* (UPPER) RAMONA CHARMSTRING; AUTUMN LEAF CHARMSTRING, MADE OF GOURD SHELL. (LOWER) PENGUIN; BASKET AND CONTAINERS; COUNTY MAP OF NORTH CAROLINA, MADE OF GOURD SEED; C ANDLESTICK; RABBIT; CUPS; CRACKER JAR WITH ANCIENT AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN; RATTLES; NEGRO PREACHER; FLAMINGO; NEGRO EATING WATERMELON; BUTTONS.



Photograph—Courtesy of **Carolina Co-operator**

CARY GOURD FESTIVAL. *LEFT TO RIGHT:* LAMP; BELOW LAMP—POTPOURRI JAR; CRACKER JAR WITH EARLY AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN; CONTAINER WITH COVER; WHAT-NOT, DECORATED WITH EARLY AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGNS; POPCORN SERVER; PLAQUE; CONTAINERS; WORK-BASKET; LAMP.

in my shop window, perfectly dry, which is five feet one inch long, perfectly straight and in every part about four inches in diameter."[18] Jefferson mentions gourds several times in his garden diary. Another diarist, Dr. Martin W. Phillips, owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, records that in April, 1840, "The frost on the morning of the 31st [May] killed gourd leaves."[19]

With like regard for the gourd, the pioneer carried it as he ventured farther westward and the place of the gourd in Southern frontier homes has been described in various instances. One writer says:

> Sanitation was a little-known term, but nice home-makers knew that scalding water, soap or ashes and long hours of sunning on the high out-side shelf at the back of the kitchen brought a certain purity and sweetness to the milk crocks or gourds. . . . Short handled gourds were used for milking; and one with two holes in it, plus a square of cloth, served as a milk strainer. Nice people also hung their drinking gourds out of the cedar water-bucket. Trifling folks left the dipper in the bucket to become soggy and greenish-black with mold. Gourds also were useful for storing soft soap, coffee, brown sugar, shelled peas, beans, corn, dried peppers, popcorn, dried fruit, dried pumpkin, etc. The top of the squatty fatty gourd was cut carefully so as to make a lid. The newcomers took pride in the gourds they raised, but they were never able to grow as large fatty gourds as back in Georgia or the Carolinas. Molasses and honey did not do so well in gourds but kept better in whisky barrels. Lard kept very well in a well-cleaned gourd; and often a small one was used for the drippings, though likely to be soggy. . . . In the summer-time the family toilette was made outdoors. The tin or gourd washpan sat on its block of wood, and over it hung the family towel and comb. . . . The slovens were those who let their gourds get soggy.[20]

At that time the woman carried water in a large gourd to the men working in the field and she blew on a gourd horn to call them to dinner. She used the neck of a gourd as sausage stuffer. She kept the stockings to be darned in a big gourd, and she used a small, egg-shaped one when darning. She gave the baby a gourd rattle to shake as a toy and to cut his teeth on.

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[18] Thomas Jefferson, *Garden Book, 1766-1824*, 317.
[19] Franklin L. Riley, "Diary of a Mississippi Planter, January 1, 1840 to April, 1863," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X, 319.
[20] Afton Wynn, "Pioneer Folk Ways," in J. Frank Dobie's *Straight Texas, Publications of the Texas Folk-lore Society*, XIII, 210, 211, 232.

The man, when hunting deer or bear, sometimes carried his powder in a gourd. Then, later as a soldier of the American Revolution, he took that same powder gourd with him to the battlefield. On display in the Hall of History in Raleigh, North Carolina, there are three such gourds which were carried to battle by James Carr, Nicholas Lewis, and Captain Samuel Martin.

Moreover, the gourd of the pioneer days had a prominent place in merry-making. Music for the square dance consisted of various tunes and among these was "Sugar in the Gourd." And there was the gourd banjo. According to Miss Jean Thomas, "the Traipsin' Woman," founder of the American Folk Song Festival, this was a straight, long-necked gourd, cut flat on one side, the seed scooped out, the opening covered with paper glued down with flour paste. The strings were wire or cat gut.[21]

Miss Thomas also states that in sections of the Blue Ridge the gourd still serves as wassail cup from which sweet cider is drunk in the keeping of Old Christmas on January sixth.[22]

In the realm of story, it was the Cherokee who was the first Southerner to introduce the gourd. In one of their best-known animal myths, "Ball Game of the Birds and Animals," the martin retrieved the ball at a crucial point of the contest and for this was given a gourd "in which to build his nest, and he still has it."[23]

Today Paul Green treats the martin pole in his short story, "The Humble Ones," where the wind swayed the dry gourds on the martin poles and they "knocked mournfully together" on the "crossarms" which "looked like a gallows."[24] In his symphonic drama, *The Lost Colony,* he depicts Uppowoc, the medicine man, with a feathered gourd rattle while old Tom, the philosopher-buffoon, carries a gourd dipper with his wooden bucket of water.

Bernice Kelly Harris philosophizes in her *Sweet Beulah Land:* "Puttin' a handle to a gourd don't make it no dipper."[25] Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings mentions gourds many times in her descriptions of life in the "scrub-country" of Florida. Cecile Hulse Matschat, also writing of Florida, tells of drinking liquor out of a gourd at a still.[26]

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[21] Jean Thomas, *Blue Ridge Country,* 44.
[22] Thomas, *Blue Ridge Country,* 159.
[23] James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,* part I, 287.
[24] Paul Green, *Salvation on a String and Other Tales of the South,* 63.
[25] Bernice Kelly Harris, *Sweet Beulah Land,* 20.
[26] Cecile Hulse Matschat, *Suwannee River,* 156.

Among the poets who have sung of the gourd is John Charles McNeill. In "Tommy Smith," he sings of "the old cider-hogshead . . . with the brimming gourd."[27] And in "Before Bedtime" he says:

Paw bends to read his almanac
An' study out the weather,
An' Bud has got a gourd o' grease
To ile his harness leather.[28]

This paper cites only a few references out of a vast amount of material relating to the true significance and rich tradition of the gourd in the South throughout the years. Research regarding the same gourd which hung as a dipper by the old spring or well continues to reveal new, delightful, and interesting aspects of the subject.

[27] John Charles McNeill, *Songs Merry and Sad.*
[28] McNeill, *Songs Merry and Sad.*

THE FOOD AND DRINK SHORTAGE ON THE CONFEDERATE HOMEFRONT

By Mary Elizabeth Massey

During the Civil War there were many commodity shortages that affected the Confederate civilian population. Insufficient housing accommodations, utilities, clothing, medicine, transportation facilities, and paper, as well as the lack of hundreds of miscellaneous items, kept the people ever alert in the search for substitutes. But no single shortage caused such grave concern among the civilians as that of food, for there were areas in which even the coarsest, most commonplace items were unobtainable. This situation became increasingly serious as the war years dragged on, until by 1865 the areas affected were widespread. There were several factors causing this shortage. The blockade, the lack of a self-sufficient economy in the South, the failure of governmental and private attempts to diversify sufficiently agricultural production, the chauvinistic generosity of many people, especially in the early days of the war, and natural phenomena such as drouth, floods, and fires—all these combined to produce a shortage of food and drink. More important than any of these causes, however, were the shortage of manpower, the breakdown of transportation facilities, the impressment policy of the Confederate government, speculation, and hoarding. Combining forces, these factors produced a grave problem that at times became insurmountable. Hunger and near starvation were the result in some parts of the Confederacy, while in all sections food and drink substitutes were forced upon the people by the absolute inability to get certain commodities.

Contemporary letters, diaries, and newspapers contain frequent reference to the food shortage. A few mention abundance of food in one section or another, but that is unusual. The rank and file seem to have felt the pinch of the times. While one family might have plenty to eat, next door there might be hunger. Such was the case in the Virginia village where Mrs. Cornelia McDonald lived during a part of the war. While she was forced to live upon the simple fare of bread and water, there were those in her

neighborhood who could dine sumptuously.[1] Constance Cary, later Mrs. Burton Harrison, wrote that she could not remember getting up from a single meal while she was in Richmond in 1864-1865 "without wishing there were more of it,"[2] while another young lady, who chanced to be visiting on a Virginia plantation that had been untouched by the war, found delicacies in bounteous quantity.[3] Although there were some who managed to have a sufficiency, there were others in the South who regularly felt the pangs of hunger. One writer declared that "the Confederacy was always hungry."[4]

While generalization is both impossible and dangerous, it may be said accurately that there was nearly always a food shortage in certain areas. Those near the battle lines were most often swept clean of all food. Foragers from both Confederate and Federal armies preyed upon the land. That section of Virginia which was a battleground for four years saw the food problem daily becoming more acute. Here the battle against starvation was fought during the entire war.[5] In other areas the armies swept across the land at varying times, leaving hunger in their paths. Such a destructive march was that of General Sherman's army across Georgia and thence northward into the Carolinas. That section had felt little actual hunger prior to this maneuver, but the destitution left by the Federals was widespread and severe. One girl who witnessed this march reported that the people in Georgia eagerly sought stray bits of corn left uneaten by the horses;[6] another told of searching for stray minie balls left on the field of battle and exchanging them for food at Confederate headquarters.[7] While civilians living near the battle areas keenly felt the shortage of food, those living in so called "refugee havens" likewise faced the problem. In an attempt to flee from the enemy, many thousands were swept into areas believed to be safe from invasion. As such areas contracted with each passing month, more and more people were herded into less and less space. The problem of feeding these people became immense and sometimes

[1] Cornelia McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the Wor and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley*, 24.
[2] Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay*, 191.
[3] Myrta Lockett Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 357.
[4] Robert Courtney Hall, "Confederate Medicine," *Medical Life*, XLII (1935), 480.
[5] George Alfred Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant and His Romaunt Abroad During the War*, 240; Catherine Cooper Hopley, *Life in the South: From the Commencement of the War*, II, 108; Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 222.
[6] Eliza Frances Andrews, *The War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl*, 38.
[7] Mary A. H. Gay, *Life in Dixie During the War*, 248.

impossible. Then it was that the shortages became widespread and hunger appeared where it had not been before.[8] In cities, too, food shortages created immense problems. Depending upon the surrounding rural areas for their subsistence, the city dwellers were sometimes forced to do without even the simplest food. Farmers often refused to bring their produce to town, even when they had it. The fear of the impressment officers, coupled with the poor roads, was most frequently the cause of withholding the farm produce. So bad did the situation become in some cities that the inhabitants were seen eating the refuse from garbage cans.[9] One diarist wrote that the people of Richmond lived in a clean city, for "everything [is] being so cleanly consumed that no garbage or filth can accumulate." He added that the citizens of the capital were "such good scavengers" that there was "no need for buzzards."[10] Richmond felt the food shortage for a longer period of time, and more severely, than did any other city, for into the capital had come thousands of government workers, military figures, onlookers, seekers of favors, travelers, and men of fortune. The population grew to such an extent that even had normal amounts of produce come into Richmond they would have proved insufficient for the increased population. But normal amounts did not come during the war, so that the food problem was a grave one in the capital. Besieged towns, too, were often driven to great lengths to obtain enough food to keep the people alive. Vicksburg and Petersburg were in desperate straits during the days that they were under siege. In both these towns all sorts of food substitutes were utilized. While the food shortage was felt most severely in these and other towns and cities in the Confederacy, it was by no means absent from the rural areas. Some rural folk suffered; others did not. Some areas were without sufficient food a part of the time, while others usually had enough for their people. Few, however, were those people or places that had prewar quantities during the entire four years. The political leaders often received letters from their friends and constituents in rural areas, telling of the hardships and asking that something be done. Secretary of War Seddon received such a letter in the spring of

[8] Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*, 482.
[9] Armistead Churchill Gordon, "Hard-Times in the Confederacy," *The Century Magazine*, XXXVI (1883), 762.
[10] John Beauchamp Jones, *A Rebel War-Clerk's Diary*, II, 156.

1864, written by Thomas S. Babcock for a group of citizens in Appomattox County, Virginia. It declared that corn could not be found and the situation was described as "urgent." The aid of Secretary Seddon was sought with the hope of easing a "sober and lamentable reality."[11] A particularly graphic plea was written by several county leaders of Rockingham County, Virginia, to the Honorable James B. Baldwin in late fall of 1864. Conditions in this county were described as "appalling and unparalleled"; there was barely enough food "to sustain life," and the people "were almost reduced to beggary."[12] The rural folk always evidenced much concern when there was a lack of sufficient food. They never seemed able to take it in their stride as did their city friends. One lady remarked that as she traveled about rural areas of the South, the people seemed far more interested in "the non-arrival of a jug of molasses or a sack of meal than in the issue of battles."[13]

In determining what groups of people felt the food shortage most keenly, it is again impossible to generalize. Evidence points to the fact that the poor people of the Confederacy found it extremely difficult to get enough to eat. Despite the generosity of many in helping the poor, most of the organized charities were found in the larger towns, and those in remote areas were unable to benefit by their charity. Others had too much pride to become beggars, so they went hungry. There was hunger, however, among those who were widely known in Confederate circles. Such outstanding people as Joseph LeConte[14] and his daughter, Emma, mention the scarcity of food in their pantry.[15] Constance Cary, one of the favorites of Richmond society during the war, went hungry many times,[16] while Mrs. Joseph E. Johnston, wife of the Confederate general, at one time had only cornbread and sorghum molasses to eat.[17] There were many similar cases among the better known and more affluent members of the Confederacy, but this group, more often than any other, got the rare articles when they were available. Mrs. Jefferson Davis admitted that

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[11] *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series IV, III, 285. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records.*)
[12] *Official Records*, Series IV, III, 845-846.
[13] Harrison, *Recollections*, 86.
[14] William Dallam Armes, *Autobiography of Joseph LeConte*, 229.
[15] Emma Florence LeConte, Diary, January 23, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[16] Harrison, *Recollections*, 191.
[17] Mrs. D. Giraud Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, 194.

the household of the President had fewer deprivations "than those of persons not holding such high official positions."[18] This is further verified by Mrs. James Chesnut, Jr., wife of the South Carolina Senator, who dined with Mrs. Davis late in the war. On the presidential table she found chicken, oysters, gumbo, duck, olives, salad, lettuce, chocolate ice cream, jelly, cake, claret, and champagne.[19] Other persons of high rank benefitted by their "connections." Secretary of the Treasury George Trenholm assisted his friends in securing from abroad various scarce and almost forgotten items,[20] and Secretary of the Navy Stephen R. Mallory was accused of indulging in a diet that would delight the most critical epicure.[21] But these leaders and their circles of intimate friends composed only a small percentage of the Confederates. The rank and file fared simply on the most monotonous of diets; and coffee, tea, salt, and sugar made their exit early in the war. Shortages of these items continued to be fairly general, except in those parts of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi where sugar was grown. Rich or poor, famous or little known, all people had to forego their usual indulgences in these items. The more ingenious sought and found substitutes for some of the items, while others were unsuccessful.

Recognizing the food shortages, the newspapers and periodicals of the time made room for recipes and the results of culinary research. When the *Southern Illustrated News* was founded in Richmond, in September, 1862, the promise was given the readers that a place would be given "to all good recipes furnished by experienced housekeepers."[22] Recipe books published during the war stressed shortages and modeled the recipes to fit the times. Housewives cut these recipes from magazines and newspapers and made their own wartime recipe books. One kept by a South Carolina housewife is so typically "Confederate" that it merits description. Bound in the coarsest of homespun, the book contains recipes written on the blank side of Confederate money, old envelopes, and letters, all cut to a uniform size.[23] All the war

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[18] Mrs. Varina Howell Davis, *Jefferson Davis: Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir*, II, 529.

[19] Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary From Dixie*, 284.

[20] Thomas Livingston Bayne, "Life in Richmond, 1863-1865," *Confederate Veteran*, XXX (1922), 100.

[21] Jones, *Diary*, II, 290.

[22] *Southern Illustrated News*, September 27, 1862.

[23] Confederate Recipe Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

recipes were simple, and war names were given to various concoctions, such as "Rebel Bread" and "Beaureguard Cake."[24]

The same periodicals that gave so much space to the recipes also encouraged the planting of food crops in place of cotton and tobacco. State legislation on this subject was a direct outgrowth of the newspaper campaign. The papers made appeals to the farmers to meet together and discuss this topic. When they did come together and decide to forsake the planting of cotton for corn, they received publicity for their actions. Not only would the hometown paper publish the news of the farmers' unselfishness, but the story would find its way into newspapers far from the scene of the action.[25] The newspapers urged not only the planting of food crops, but the planting of more than the family could use. A South Carolina paper thought that, if everyone would plant one-fifth more than the family could consume, the farmers could beat the famine.[26] The widely read *Southern Cultivator* told the southern people that the planting of food crops was not a matter of choice; it was "a matter of necessity."[27] And the Wilmington *Journal* subtly reminded the meat-loving and meat-hungry Confederacy that "corn is pork in rough."[28] Not only was the large planter urged by Southern editors to plant food crops, but the people in both city and town were encouraged to plant gardens. The practice of growing vegetables on any available plot of ground became universal during the war. J. B. Jones noted, with great satisfaction, that on his lot in Richmond "Every inch of ground is in cultivation—even the ash heap is covered all over with tomato vines."[29] But this did not entirely satisfy him. When he wanted to grow vegetables through the cold winter months, he made a hotbed out of a flour barrel sawed in half, and in this he planted corn, cabbage, tomatoes, beets, and eggplant. Being portable, this ingenious device could be brought indoors in cold weather.[30] Women as well as men cultivated gardens with an uncommon enthusiasm. By doing so they assured themselves and their families of a supply of fresh vegetables

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[24] Susan Dabney Smedes, *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, 224.

[25] *Wilmington Journal*, April 24, 1862, quoting a resolution of farmers passed in Russell County, Alabama; *Southern Confederacy*, April 1, 1862; *Daily Express* (Petersburg), May 27, 1861, quoting the *Oxford* (Mississippi) *Mecury*, May 8, 1861.

[26] *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), February 28, 1862.

[27] *Southern Cultivator*, XX (1862), 80.

[28] *Wilmington Journal*, April 24, 1862.

[29] Jones, *Diary*, II, 9.

[30] Jones, *Diary*, II, 135.

in time of scarcity. When Mrs. James Chesnut called on Mrs. Raphael Semmes in Richmond, she found the wife of the famous Confederate admiral working patiently with her lettuce and radishes.[31] Mrs. Robert Francis Withers Allston, upon the death of her husband, the former governor of South Carolina, planted a vegetable garden in order that the diet of her family might be supplemented. Her daughter proudly recorded that the products of her mother's labor were "wonderful."[32]

Whether a person cultivated a small plot of ground or many acres, the problem of obtaining seed was a major one. In former years many of these had been imported from the North, but with that channel of trade blocked it became necessary for the southern people to produce all of their seed. One editor rebuked his readers for having depended upon the North for this item. He wrote: "There's no real necessity for this. We grow as good seed and as many of them as any portion of Yankeedom." He urged that the people of the South be careful to save all necessary seed.[33] Because of the shortage, the spirit of coöperation grew up among the people. Notices were published in papers by those who had a surplus, and this surplus was sold, exchanged, or given away to those who needed it.[34] It became quite common to use the office of the local editor as a clearing house for these transactions. Despite such efforts to distribute seed, the shortage continued. In the spring of 1863 pea, bean, corn, and tomato seed were not to be had in Richmond,[35] and in February, 1865, an amateur gardener in the same city bought a quarter ounce of cabbage seed at $10 per ounce.[36] While some seed came through the blockade, there were never enough to satisfy the demand.[37]

While the cultivation of food crops and the saving of seed were encouraged by the editors, the preservation of fruits and vegetables was also encouraged. Many papers carried instructions for the preserving and drying of surplus produce. One editor suggested that "every apple should be saved, both for food and vinegar."[38] The recipe books of the war years give evidence of the increased interest in methods of preserving food.

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[31] Chestnut, *Diary*, 294.
[32] Elizabeth Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 294.
[33] *Daily Express*, October 21, 1861.
[34] C. C. Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 293.
[35] Jones, *Diary*, I, 274.
[36] Jones, *Diary*, II, 293.
[37] Horace Smith Fulkerson, *A Civilian's Recollection of the War Between the States*, 145.
[38] *Richmond Whig*, May 15, 1862

Specific food shortages began to appear early in the war, and they continued throughout the conflict. The most prevalent and serious shortages were of meat, salt, fats of all kinds, white sugar, and wheat breads. Fruit and vegetables, as well as miscellaneous foods, including condiments, were also lacking. Among the beverages which disappeared during the war were coffee, tea, imported liquors, and to a lesser extent domestic liquors, and in some areas milk. In an effort to supply themselves and their families with as nearly the genuine article as possible, the housewife constantly searched for substitutes. Much interest was stimulated among the women of the Confederacy by this amateur contest involving cooking skills and ingenuity; and the results of this research were exchanged, compared, and discussed. Some admitted failure to find substitutes for various items, while others were sure they had found a substitute that was just as satisfactory as the original. But good or poor, successful or otherwise, there were substitutes.

Among the most complained of food shortages was that of meat. The lack of this essential item of diet caused concern among many. The South was accustomed to consume quantities of pork, but even this domestic product proved scarce during the war. The lack of sufficient feed, the absence of men accustomed to preside over the butchering and curing, and the lack of sufficient salt to cure the pork properly—all combined to produce the shortage. In the years before the war, much of the beef consumed in the lower South and the seaboard area had been brought from Tennessee, Kentucky, the Mid-West, and the Trans-Mississippi region. Although these areas continued to supply the Confederacy in varying quantities through most of 1862,[39] by midsummer of 1863 all of these sources were lost to the Confederacy, as far as supplying it with any large amount of provisions was concerned. The people in the Cis-Mississippi region turned toward raising stock in an effort to produce their own meat.[40] But it took time to produce cattle for slaughter, and the lack of grain and experience, combined with the time element and war destruction, made it impossible for the eastern Confederacy to produce its

[39] William S. Pettigrew to Charles Pettigrew, April 27, 1862, Pettigrew Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[40] *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), November 10, 1862.

own meat in sufficient quantities. The meat shortage remained serious during the entire conflict.

Many butcher shops closed their doors, and those that managed to stay opened had little or no meat.[41] When meat was available, it was well for the housewife or servant to arise early and rush to purchase some of the rare article. The supply was usually exhausted in the early morning.[42] Under these circumstances, many were forced to forego meat, but their craving for it diminished not at all. It was said that, in the prayers for daily bread, there was usually added, "And a little meat, too, O Lord."[43] Those who did manage to obtain meat got much less than was needed to feed the family according to prewar standards, and so a little was often made to go a long way. In 1863 in one household a pound of meat was made to serve "seven hungry children," the parents, and a servant,[44] but by 1864, an ounce of meat per person daily was considered ample for the times.[45]

Under such circumstances there was nothing to do but use substitutes. The most common were fish and fowl. One diarist wrote that "fish became the staple article of diet," but to get this, it was necessary to be at the market "before the break of day, and frequently . . . the crowd that pressed around the market was so dense that many were compelled to leave without anything."[46] While many were encouraged to partake of such meat substitutes as oysters, in season, and save the meat for the fighting men, oysters too were scarce. In Wilmington they were two dollars a "fry" when available,[47] while in Charleston an editor missed them so much that he wrote an editorial on the subject. In the course of the article he said: "One of the charmed months, bearing the mystic R has passed away and another is ½ spent and our eyes have not been gladdened nor our palates excited by so much as even 1 specimen of our old molluscuous favorites."[48] A poor substitute for oysters was offered. This was made of green corn, egg, flour, butter, salt, and pepper mixed together

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[41] Frank Moore, *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events with Documents, Narratives, Illustrations, Incidents, Poetry, Etc.*, VII, 67. (Hereafter cited as *Rebellion Record.*)

[42] *Richmond Enquirer*, November 2, 1863.

[43] Alexander Hunter, "The Woman of Mosby's Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran*, XV (1907), 259.

[44] McDonald, *Diary*, 198.

[45] Jones, *Diary*, II, 185; Mrs. Roger Pryor, *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, 208.

[46] Sallie A. Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 113.

[47] *Wilmington Journal*, November 22, 1862.

[48] *Charleston Mercury*, October 16, 1862.

in a batter and fried.[49] This, of course could be used only when the ingredients were available, and some of these items came to be scarce. In an effort to get fish, those who could turned to fishing. One Louisiana father used to awaken his children early every morning with the call, "Get up girls, fish or no breakfast."[50] That more fish were not used as meat substitutes was due to the lack of equipment for catching them. There was a shortage of hooks, lines, seines, and traps, and there was difficulty in fishing off the coast during the war.[51]

In addition to fish there were other substitutes both palatable and nourishing. Among these were eggs. One contemporary remarked that the "hundred ways of cooking an egg became well-known in the Confederacy."[52] Fowl and wild game were used when obtainable, but these were not often to be had at any price. Hunting became more than a sport, for in this way the "meat" was often supplied those living in rural areas. One editor ran this in his paper: "We want to buy a coon and 'possum dog, [with which to hunt] our meat during the coming year. . . . A dog that will hunt coon, possum and kill sheep occasionally will command a good price at these 'headquarters.' "[53] But hunters who had fine dogs with which to hunt were often stymied by the lack of ammunition, for most of this found its way into the Army.[54]

With meat practically non-existent, fishing tackle scarce and ammunition for hunting purposes hard to obtain, other substitutes had to be found. By the fall of 1864 things had come to such a state that one editor suggested that his readers resort to eating rats, frogs, fried snails, young crow, snakes, locusts, earthworms, birds' nests, cats, and dogs; he added that "a word to the wise is sufficient."[55] By this time, however, many Confederates had already been eating these things. Rats had become an item in the diet of many. President Davis was quoted as saying that he saw no reason for not eating rats, for he thought they

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[49] *Confederate Receipt Book: A Compilation of Over One Hundred Receipts Adapted to the Times*, 7, 8. The recipe for artificial oyster is: "Take young green corn, grate it in a dish; to one pint of this add one egg, well-beaten, a small teacup of flour, two or three tablespoons of butter, some salt and pepper, mix them all together. A tablespoon of the batter will make the size of an oyster. Fry them light brown, and when done butter them."

[50] Frances Fearn, *Diary of a Refugee*, 18-19.

[51] *Official Records*, Series IV, II, 915-918.

[52] Harrison, *Recollections*, 134-135.

[53] *Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta), October 7, 1862.

[54] Jones, *Diary*, II, 135.

[55] Montgomery *Daily Advertiser*, September 16, 1864.

would be as "good as squirrels."[56] Rats were eaten in quantity by the citizens of besieged Vicksburg. On the eve of the capitulation of that city, a lady noted that rats were "hanging dressed in the market for sale . . . there is nothing else."[57] Rats sometimes brought as much as $2.50 each.[58] In Richmond, too, they found their way to tables, while recipes for cooking them were circulated among the women.[59] Rats, however, never became the item of diet that mule-meat did. In Vicksburg mules were slaughtered daily and sold to those who wanted fresh meat.[60] But this meat was expensive. A lady said that she sent "five dollars to market each morning, and it buys a small piece of mule meat."[61] Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, who spent a part of the war in Petersburg, Virginia, wrote that one morning she saw a dead mule "lying on the common, and out of its side had been cut a very neat square chunk of flesh."[62] Some people, in their hunger for meat, ate their pets. A resident of one of the caves in Vicksburg had her daughter's pet jay-bird killed and made into soup;[63] and considerable controversy arose in Savannah when a group of men were accused of rounding up dogs, slaughtering them, and selling them as lamb.[64] During the war the lowly peanut came into general use as a food, especially as a substitute for meat.

The meat shortage probably would never have been so serious had it not been for the shortage of salt. This was needed as a preservative, yet it was almost totally lacking in most sections of the Confederacy. Of all shortages, lack of salt received more attention from the Confederate Congress and state legislatures than any other. Salt was desperately needed, and the lack of it caused thousands of pounds of meat to spoil. Salt had been produced in the South prior to the war, but most of these sources were soon captured, and in some instances the salt mines were flooded by the Federals. The blockade made it increasingly difficult to bring salt into the Confederacy through the ports. And

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[56] Jones, *Diary*, II, 175.
[57] George Washington Cable, ed., "A Woman's Diary of the Seige of Vicksburg," *Century Magazine*, XXX (1885), 774.
[58] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 231.
[59] Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 104, Mrs. Pember gives the following recipe for cooking a rat: "The rat must be skinned, cleaned, his head cut off and his body laid open upon a square board, the legs stretched to their full extent and secured upon it with small tacks, then baste with bacon fat and roast before a good fire quickly like canvas back ducks."
[60] Mary Webster Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vickesburg*, 116.
[61] Cable, "A Woman's Diary," 771.
[62] Pryor, *My Day*, 204.
[63] Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vickesburg*, 136-137.
[64] Savannah *Republican*, July 30, 1863.

no satisfactory substitute could be found. Saltpetre was sometimes used, but it, too, was always scarce, and the manufacturers of ammunition had first call on it. Wood ashes sometimes served as a substitute for salt, but this proved unsatisfactory. In the search for salt, many people scraped the dirt from the smokehouse floors, but this source was soon exhausted. Others tried boiling salt water until the salt could be extracted, but, although this was urged upon the people by the newspapers, it was a slow and expensive method, and the results were negligible. There was a shortage of kettles, barrels, and sacks needed in the making and shipping of salt. The congested and inadequate transportation facilities also made it difficult to distribute equally the available salt, as well as the basic essentials necessary to its manufacture. A student of the salt problem in the Confederacy wrote that "despite the most persistent search . . . [and] enthusiastic boring to locate subterranean brines, despite scientific testing of weak brines, no important new sources of salines were discovered, with one exception of the mine of rock at New Iberia [Louisiana]."[65] With only one new mine discovered, and with only one major salt producing area in the Confederacy, that of the Saltville, Virginia, works, there was need of a substitute. But an adequate substitute was never discovered, and the consequent lack of salt was one of the most serious shortages in the Confederacy.

Among the many food shortages were fats of all kinds, butter, oils, lard, and mayonnaise. Of all these, the shortage of butter seemed to be most serious. Prior to the war, a large amount of butter had been shipped into southern cities from the North. This imported butter was said to be preferred because it was neatly packaged and "more satisfactory than that of domestic production."[66] With the coming of the war, it became necessary for the South to produce its own butter. In an effort to stimulate production, newspapers and farm journals presented the problem to their readers. In one such article the editor of the *Southern Cultivator* stressed the point that the reliance on northern butter was great, and that so far as he knew "there is not a dairy farm in the State of Georgia," yet he insisted that southern farmers

[65] Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy*, 222.
[66] *Daily Express* (Petersburg), June 18, 1861.

must supply the demands of the Confederacy.[67] Despite the effort to stimulate production, there never was enough butter during the war. The words "No Butter" or "scant supply of butter" were consistently seen in the market reports of southern papers. Early in the war a Texas newspaper boasted that Texas could supply the whole Confederacy with butter. She failed to do so, however.[68] The scarcity continued during the entire four years of the war. When a housewife did succeed in finding a little butter, it was often rancid, but it was too precious to throw away. She, therefore, resorted to current recipes that told her how she might restore the sweetness to such butter.[69] Lard and cooking oils, like butter, were hard to obtain. About the only substitute for such items, but one that was given widespread publicity, was oil made from the seeds of sunflowers. It was described as an admirable substitute for olive oil. Mayonnaise, too, was an almost forgotten luxury in most homes. Because of the shortage of oils which form a base for this dressing, recipes were concocted that produced a substitute called mayonnaise only by courtesy. Even the simple ingredients needed were often lacking.[70]

With the possible exception of meat and salt, the food shortage most complained of was that of sugar. That part of the Confederacy lying east of the Mississippi River was almost entirely dependent on the sugar produced in Louisiana. When the Federals took control of the area around New Orleans in 1862, the sugar supply of the Confederacy became smaller and smaller. When the Confederacy was bisected and the Mississippi River lost, the sugar supply from Mississippi to Virginia almost entirely disappeared. Only that hoarded by housewives, that arriving spasmodically by blockade runners, and the little cultivated in the area of Florida and Georgia was to be had. The shortage affected all people. As early as the summer of 1862, Mrs. Kirby Smith wrote her husband apologizing because she could not find any white sugar for him in Lynchburg.[71] Whenever a little

[67] Charles Wallace Howard, "Things Worthy of Attention," *Southern Cultivator*, XIX (1861), 201-203.

[68] New Orleans *Picayune*, June 28, 1861, quoting the Galveston *Civilian*.

[69] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17. The following directions were given for sweetening butter: "Melt the butter in hot water, skim it off as clean as possible, and work it over again in a churn, add salt and fine sugar and press well."

[70] *Confederate Recipe Book*, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. "Mayonnaise without oil, Mix two teaspoons of mustard, 1 tablespoon of butter or bacon grease, salt to taste, pour gently on this one pint of milk or water in which a piece of celery has been boiled to give it taste, put on fire, and when boiling, thicken with one tablespoon of flour or starch and yoke of 1 egg. When cold beat in a wine glass of vinegar."

[71] Mrs. Kirby Smith to General Kirby Smith, June 30, 1862, Kirby Smith Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

"real" sugar made its appearance on the table during the war, it received considerable comment, for it was among the scarcest of articles.[72] Because of the scant supply of white sugar, fairly satisfactory substitutes were found for the genuine article. Of all these substitutes, sorghum was most often used. It became familiar throughout the Confederacy. One lady said that "a history of the 'Southern Confereracy' would be incomplete without . . . mention of sorghum."[73] Another contemporary wrote that "the land was submerged in sorghum."[74] Sorghum mills sprang up like mushrooms throughout the South; they were, as a rule, primitive and inexpensive. They usually consisted of "three upright cylinders, of which the center one, turned by horse-power, moved the other two by means of cog-wheels. A tub set underneath the machine cought the juice," and this juice was boiled down and clarified.[75] In fact, this sorghum boiling "added another to the great Southern festivals of corn shucking and hog-killing." The result of each boiling was different. No two kettles were alike "in color, taste, or consistency."[76] Much interest was stimulated in the results, however, and the makers carried around samples to compare with those made by their friends.[77] Whenever the planter found himself unsure of some step in the procedure of making sorghum, he would ask the advice of someone who did know. So it was that Robert F. W. Allston wrote to James Henry Hammond in the summer of 1862: "My sorgo is not yet ripe, when it is I desire to know how to proceed forewith, so as to lose neither time nor material in experimenting. With this in view, I beg you give me benefit of your experience."[78] "Universal sweetner" that it was, sorghum was used whenever sugar was called for. It found its way into cake, cookies, and pies, but one of the most unusual uses was in jellies and preserves.[79]

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[72] Andrews, *Journal*, 26, 83.

[73] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

[74] David Dodge (pseudonym) [O. W. Blacknall], "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII (1886), 235.

[75] Mrs. M. P. Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 577.

[76] Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII (1886), 235.

[77] Parthenia Antoinette Hague, *A Blockaded Family: Life in Southern Alabama During The War*, 30.

[78] James Harold Easterby, ed., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation As Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston*, 188.

[79] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

Sorghum jelly was fairly common,[80] but this, as well as preserves that contained sorghum, "always had a twang."[81]

There were other sugar substitutes but they never became as widely used as sorghum. Among these was honey. The people were encouraged to substitute honey for sugar, but the production of honey fell off during the war, and it was never sufficient to meet the demand.[82] Maple sugar was used whenever it was obtainable. This sugar, and maple syrup as well, was said by some to be "as good as that produced in the North."[83] Most of that used during the war came from the mountain areas, but it never reached the markets in sufficient quantities to supply the demand.[84] Persimmons were used to make sugar,[85] and both watermelons[86] and figs[87] were made into syrup and used as sweetening.

Because of the shortages of sugar and syrup, desserts practically disappeared from southern tables. Usually on such important occasions as Christmas the housewives would ingeniously concoct some dessert that would be acceptable, despite the sugar shortage. But even then many felt that apologies were in order, for to indulge in such luxuries was thought to be unpatriotic by many. Edmund Ruffin's granddaughter wrote him on Christmas Day, 1862, that her family was "so unfashionable as to have a dessert."[88] Molasses pie, made with sorghum, flour, and walnuts, was a fairly common dessert.[89] There were Confederate "ginger snaps" that contained no ginger or sugar and from descriptions very little "snap."[90] There were "plum puddings" without plums,[91] but fruit cakes contained all sorts of fruit. One recipe called for dried apples, peaches, figs, walnuts, and hickory nuts, flavored with what few spices could be begged, borrowed, or stolen

[80] Confederate Recipe Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. "Sorghum jelly: Beat very light three eggs, and add them to 1 pint of sorghum. Set on to boil, stirring slowly until it thickens to the consistency of hominy."

[81] Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," 578-579.

[82] *Richmond Enquirer*, July 25, 1864.

[83] D. M. Scott, "Selma and Dallas County, Alabama," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIV (1916), 217.

[84] N. R. H. Dawson to his fiancee, March 21, 1862, N. R. H. Dawson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. He wrote: "There is no maple sugar in town (Richmond). The soldiers eat it all up in the mountains, and none of it comes to this market."

[85] *Wilmington Journal*, October 1, 1863.

[86] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 31-32.

[87] *Richmond Whig*, October 1, 1863.

[88] "Nannie" to her grandfather, Edmund Ruffin, Edmund Ruffin Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[89] Pryor, *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, 319.

[90] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia. The ginger snaps contained flour, sorghum, and pepper.

[91] Clara Minor Lynn Papers. "Recipe for Plum Pudding . . . . dried apples, currants, suet, a little pepper for spice, and a mixture of corn meal and flour."

and with corn whiskey "made by the government."[92] Another fruit cake contained "dried cherries, dried whortle berries, candied watermelon rind and molasses."[93] Among the simplest of desserts was that made from crushed peanuts sweetened with whatever happened to be at hand.[94] Many a party was given during the war "with a gallon of sorghum and some goobers."[95]

The shortage of white sugar and syrup prevented the making of dainty desserts and pastries, but the scarcity of flour also contributed to the lack of these delicacies. High-grade white flour was practically unobtainable during most of the war. A favorite recipe for pie crust called for white potatoes in the absence of flour;[96] and corn meal was often used in making pastries, cake, and waffles.[97] If there had been a lack of flour for dessert only, there would have been no great problem, but bread became so scarce and expensive as to prevent its being used by the rank and file. Early attempts of newspapers to persuade the southern people to grow wheat met with little success, and that customarily bought in the North was not available during the war. With outside sources closed and with the lack of proper machinery, soil, weather, and experience to grow it at home, the supply of wheat dwindled.[98] The little flour that was milled was darker than the prewar flour and was much coarser. When one woman found some "Number One" flour hidden in a relative's house, she was so elated that she recalled it in later years.[99] Both dark and light flour continued scarce during the war. Whenever anyone was so fortunate as to receive any as a gift, friends were called in to share the wonderful delicacy. These "biscuit parties" were always a success; one woman declared that some of the biscuits eaten at such an event "were more delicious than any eaten before or since."[100] Because of the scarcity of bread, housewives often had to resort to a sort of rationing with their families. One remarked that it was "almost ludicrous to see with what painful

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[92] Scott, "Selma and Dallas County, Alabama," 220.
[93] Lucy London Anderson, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy*, 3.
[94] Francis Peyre Porcher, *Resources of the Southern Fields, and Forests, Medical, Economical, and Agricultural*, 228.
[95] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
[96] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 7.
[97] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 25.
[98] Frances Caldwell Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," *Confederate Veteran*, XXI (1913), 162.
[99] Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 185.
[100] Mrs. Julia W. Bell, "My Confederate Grandmother," *Confederate Veteran*, XXVIII (1920), 366-367.

solicitude . . . [she] would count rolls" or measure the bread with a string, so that no one would receive more than another.[101] By the spring of 1865 the price of flour had risen to $1,200 a barrel, and even at this price it was rarely obtainable. Professional bakers continued to raise prices. In Richmond the bakers produced three sizes of loaves "which sold at one, two, and three dollars." The first was described as visible only with miscropic aid, "the second can be descerned with the naked eye, and the third can be seen with outline and shape distinct."[102] Because of the shortage of breadstuffs, soldiers threatened to go home and help their hungry families obtain bread.[103]

Substitutes had to be found for flour from which nourishing breadstuffs could be made. Apparently the most ingenious were unable to find tasty substitutes. One physician, who studied the problem of shortages and the indigenous plants that might relieve these shortages, concluded that "any substance that contained starch . . . may furnish materials for bread."[104] And in truth they did. Rice flour became very common in those areas where rice was grown. In one recipe book, published midway in the war, there were eleven recipes calling for the use of rice flour.[105] Rice bread frequently bore the name "Secession Bread,"[106] but, for all its merits as described by the Confederate press, one daring housewife who attempted to make it said that it resulted "only in brick-bats or sticky paste."[107] A majority of Southerners resorted to the use of corn meal, already a common food before the war. Many who ate it during the war, however, would have preferred wheat bread had they been able to obtain it. When the corn meal was bolted and sifted through a fine sifter or muslin cloth, it made a passable substitute for flour.[108] The editor of the Houston *Telegraph* urged his readers to use corn meal, by telling them that it was more patriotic to eat this domestic product.[109] Before the war was over, even corn meal became scarce, and those who earlier had scorned it were happy to get it. In 1862 a North Carolina farmer wrote to his son: "the corn crop

[101] P. Y. Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story*, 99.
[102] *Richmond Examiner*, March 29, 1865.
[103] Jones, *Diary*, II, 101-102.
[104] Porcher, *Resources*, 620.
[105] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 25-27.
[106] Confederate Receipe Book, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
[107] Cable, "A Woman's Diary," 769.
[108] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 25.
[109] Houston *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, September 8, 1862.

is wretched . . . the prospect is far worse than it's been since Columbus discovered America."[110] With bread so difficult to obtain, it was natural that the distillers should become a target for criticism. Just how much corn went into distilled spirits is not known, but corn became so scarce in certain areas that people went along the roads and picked up stray kernels that had fallen from the wagons. The children of Charles Campbell, the historian, picked up grains from the feeding troughs of army horses. These they "washed, dried and pounded" for food.[111] After corn meal became difficult to obtain, hominy was suggested in its place, but hominy, too, was scarce.[112] Rice flour, corn meal, and hominy were delicious by comparison with some flour substitutes. Pea-meal came into fairly general use, when nothing else could be had. It was described as having a peculiar and disagreeable taste, and on the whole as "very unpalatable."[113] There was also sorghum flour that produced a pinkish bread comparable to buckwheat.[114] Pumpkin bread was made by boiling a pumpkin in water until a thick substance was obtained, running this through a sieve, and then adding a little flour or meal. The result was "excellent bread," according to the *Confederate Receipt Book*.[115] Acorns,[116] persimmons,[117] clover,[118] and lilies[119] were also used in making bread.

While meat, salt, sugar, and breadstuffs were among the foods most sorely missed by the people of the Confederacy, there was also a shortage of fresh vegetables, fruits, and condiments. Even in sections where fruit and vegetables were plentiful, the distance to the needy areas, the poor transportation facilities, and the lack of refrigeration en route prevented proper distribution. Most noticeable of the scarce fruits were those produced in semi-tropical climates and formerly imported into the South. These consisted of citrus fruits, pineapples, and dates. Shut off from the oranges, lemons, and limes of the West Indies, the southern

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[110] James Evans to James S. Evans, June 23, 1862, James S. Evans Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

[111] Pryor, *My Day*, 204.

[112] *Southern Field and Fireside*, March 14, 1863, 87.

[113] Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 77. The main complaint against pea-meal was that it had to be mixed with corn-meal, and it cooked so much slower than the corn-meal that a part of the bread would be burned while the other was half-done.

[114] *Richmond Enquirer*, October 6, 1864; *Wilmington Journal*, October 4, 1864.

[115] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 5.

[116] Porcher, *Resources*, 621.

[117] Porcher, *Resources*, 424.

[118] Porcher, *Resources*, 204.

[119] Porcher, *Resources*, 621.

people began to look toward Florida for these fruits. Although Florida fruits had been marketed before the war in smaller quantities, the blockade furnished a stimulus to fruit growing in this southernmost state of the Confederacy that was amazing. The newspapers frequently commented upon the deliciousness of the Florida fruit, and one young lady from Georgia pronounced the oranges "very good."[120] Pineapples were not grown in any abundance in the South, and there seemed to be no substitute for them. But dried persimmons were substituted for dates.[121] When lemons were unobtainable, even from Florida, citric acid was used instead.[122] Common fruits, apples, peaches, and plums, were also scarce. Pumpkin, cut into pieces and dried in the sun, was suggested as a substitute for dried apples;[123] and one recipe for apple pie "without apples" was circulated.[124] One paper published a recipe for fruit preserves "without fruit"; it was made from molasses, nutmeg, and eggs.[125] The fruit shortage continued throughout the war, and some areas were totally without this popular item of diet.

To a lesser extent than fruit, fresh vegetables were lacking. These could be grown in season, whereas it would take an orchard several years to mature. But vegetables were by no means plentiful. The seed shortage prevented many from raising the desired quantity; and lack of experience and preoccupation with other things were contributing factors to the small yield. Very few vegetables were for sale in the markets. At one time in 1863 only watercress was to be found in the Richmond markets.[126] Irish potatoes were generally scarce in most of the Confederacy,[127] but sweet potatoes seem to have been more plentiful.[128] In an effort to procure some green foods in their diets, the people of the Confederacy ate herbs and flowers.[129] On the whole, however, the shortage of fresh vegetables was less frequently mentioned in contemporary accounts than that of bread, meat, and sweets.

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[120] Andrews, *Journal*, 75.
[121] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.
[122] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 5, 1862.
[123] Porcher, *Resources*, 69.
[124] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 7. "To one small bowl of crackers that have been soaked until no hard part remains, add one teaspoon of tartaric acid, sweeten to taste, add some butter and very little nutmeg."
[125] *Wilmington Journal*, November 10, 1864.
[126] Harrison, *Recollections*, 117.
[127] Clay-Clopton, *A Bell of the Fifties*, 103.
[128] Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth*, 103.
[129] Porcher, *Resources*, 80.

Spices, pepper, flavorings, vinegar, and baking soda were scarce during the war. Although some spices and pepper were brought through the blockade and some housewives had a quantity on hand when the war began, these seasonings were among those items which generally disappeared early in the war. Few substitutes were found for these condiments. Those who had a sufficient supply of pepper sometimes used it instead of spice, but this was not very satisfactory.[130] The majority "long contented" themselves without these things.[131] Flavorings for desserts were also scarce, but the cooks of the Confederacy found substitutes in the leaves of trees, especially fruit trees. Peach leaves were substituted for vanilla,[132] peach and cherry leaves combined made almond flavoring, and the rose taste could be derived from rose leaves.[133] Vinegar, too, was to be had only in small quantities, when at all. Recipes for making vinegar were among those most frequently seen in the newspapers of the period. Some of these are interesting because of the ingredients they recommended. One called for molasses and water mixed and permitted to stand for two months; another, in the same paper, suggested that an "excellent vinegar" might be made from blackberries, water, and molasses mixed and put in the sun for two weeks.[134] Beets were sometimes used as a source of vinegar.[135] A number of factories were established for the purpose of manufacturing vinegar. Bicarbonate of soda, used as a leavening agent in bread, was decidedly scarce and difficult to get. Ashes left after burning corncobs became widely known as a successful substitute. Red cobs were thought to contain more alkali than white ones. The ashes were gathered and water was added, and this was placed in jars ready for use. The ashes of hickory logs were used in a similar manner, and the product was described as "quite good."[136]

The food shortage affected the farm animals, for there was a continuous shortage of fodder. Work animals, cattle, sheep, hogs being fattened for slaughter, and dairy cattle all suffered.

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[130] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

[131] Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 276.

[132] Joseph Jacobs, "Some Drug Conditions During the War Between the States," 182.

[133] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 10.

[134] *Wilmington Journal*, July 23, 1864.

[135] Porcher, *Resources*, 4.

[136] Porcher, *Resources*, 635; Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 57-58; Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," 162.

In an effort to alleviate the shortage of forage and grains, various grasses were grown in the hope of finding a substitute for northern hay,[137] and chinaberries were found to be a substitute for the decreasing corn supply.[138] Peas and peanuts were widely cultivated and used as feed for swine and cattle[139], but there was never enough food for the animals of the Confederacy. Those who owned livery stables and boarded horses were forced to raise their prices as feed became scarce and more costly.[140] In Richmond, in March, 1863, it cost $300 per month to board a horse. A single feeding was $5.[141] Many owners were forced to close their stables and sell their animals. Those animals kept as pets were at starvation's door, and their owners were distressed over their inability to secure food for them. One diarist observed that his daughter's cat had been staggering from hunger for several days; when it finally died several months later, all was grief in the household. Yet the owner admitted that its going was probably all for the best since it cost $200 a year to feed the cat.[142] Rats and mice began to disappear, both from hunger and from being killed for food.[143] A nurse in a Richmond hospital told of rats so hungry that they would drag poultices off the patients and eat them.[144] Animals of the Confederacy, like the people, were hungry.

Beverages, like food, were scarce. Of all beverages unobtainable during the war, coffee was most sorely missed. Certainly the shortage of no other beverage was responsible for such frequent complaint by contemporaries. One who lived through the war wrote that "the coffee shortage caused more actual discomfort among the people at large" than did any other.[145] Coffee began to disappear before the summer of 1861 had passed, and it was rarely seen after the fall of the same year. When one woman had to give up coffee, she wrote that she lost her "elasticity of spirit."[146] Another cried "Sour Grapes" to those who vowed that they did not miss the universal brew.[147] But as one saw

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[137] Mrs. W. E. Turner, *Recollections*, 2.
[138] Porcher, *Resources*, 643-649.
[139] Porcher, *Resources*, 127; *Wilmington Journal*, January 15, 1863.
[140] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 17.
[141] Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, II, 529.
[142] Jones, *Diary*, II, 173.
[143] Jones, *Diary*, II, 258.
[144] Pember, *Richmond During the War*, 102-103.
[145] Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 234.
[146] Mrs. Judith Brockenbrough McGuire, *Diary of a Southern Refugee During the War*, 257.
[147] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 101.

apple pies without apples, one also found coffee houses where no coffee was served.[148] So dear did coffee become that the jewelers of Atlanta were reported to have bought all the available supply "for sets in breast pins instead of diamonds."[149]

There were those, however, who managed to have a little coffee from time to time. Some had hoarded a supply, and a small quantity continued to come through the blockade. Those who had coffee usually brewed a weak beverage and added other ingredients to make it go farther. These blends might include parched corn, rye, wheat, okra seed, or chicory,[150] and the product was not usually satisfactory. One diarist declared that such adulterated coffee was delicious,[151] another thought it nauseating.[152] Whenever real, unadulterated coffee did make its appearance, it was the signal for unrepressed glee. Sometimes it was referred to as "true-true" coffee,[153] and one young lady in recording the day's menu in her diary, underlined "real coffee" twice.[154] When a train carrying "blockade" coffee was wrecked near Sumter, South Carolina, the eager and thirsty inhabitants of the area rushed to the scene of the wreck and took home sacks of the real bean. One editor wrote that "more real coffee has been drunk in that neighborhood within a few days than for a long time."[155]

The civilian population attacked the problem of substitutes for coffee with a determination and energy unlike that exhibited in the search for other expedients. No other single item had more substitutes. The people worked at the problem unceasingly, with the result that "few were the substances which did not . . . find their way into the coffee pot."[156] Boundless was the pride of the housewife who discovered and put into use a substitute that would deceive her guests into thinking that they were drinking the real thing.[157] Nearly all women had their own combinations, but usually they shared the secret with those who were interested. Among the most popular, and apparently most successful, of the substitutes for coffee was rye. This was boiled, dried, then

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[148] Thomas Cooper DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux, and Brains of the Sixties*, 268.
[149] *Southern Confederacy*, January 4, 1863.
[150] McGuire, *Diary*, 81-82; Porcher, *Resources*, 273.
[151] McGuire, *Diary*, 82.
[152] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80.
[153] DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 201.
[154] Susan Gordon Waddell Diary, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[155] *Wilmington Journal*, December 17, 1863.
[156] Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 234.
[157] Francis Warrington Dawson, *Our Women in the War*, 14.

ground like coffee.[158] A mild debate was carried on through the newspapers as to whether or not rye thus used was harmful to the body; regardless of the points made, people continued its use. Another substitute frequently used was okra seed. More expensive and troublesome than rye,[159] it was nevertheless popular. Its proponents were convinced that it was by far the best substitute.[160] The okra seed were dried and parched in a similar manner to that used for rye. Corn, too, was used and prepared in a like manner, and there were those who preferred corn "coffee" to any other.[161] The dashing General J. E. B. Stuart was reported to be of this group.[162] Sweet potato "coffee" was another of the more popular wartime expedients.[163] Potatoes were peeled and cut into "chunks" about the size of coffee berries. The pieces were spread out in the sun to dry and parched until brown, after which they were ground. The grounds were mixed with water until a paste resulted, after which hot water was added. When the grounds settled to the bottom of the coffee pot, the beverage could be poured and drunk. The sediment was said to be among the best cleaning agents for carpets, curtains, and similar household accessories.[164] Other coffee substitutes were acorns,[165] dandelion roots,[166] sugar cane,[167] parched rice,[168] cotton seed,[169] sorghum molasses,[170] English peas,[171] peanuts,[172] wheat, and beans.[173]

In practically every town of any size there were those who chose to sell coffee mixtures and blends. The newspapers were filled with advertisements of these products. The following advertisement, published in an Alabama paper, was typical of hundreds of others:

My Coffee Substitute

has been successfully introduced to the citizens of Mobile, Atlanta, Macon and Columbus. It is a wholesome, palatable, and

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[158] Laura Elizabeth Battle, *Forget-Me-Nots of the Civil War*, 157; Porcher, *Resources*, 681; *Southern Confederacy*, February 14, 1862.
[159] New Orleans *Picayune*, August 29, 1861.
[160] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102; *Daily Express* (Petersburg), November 18, 1861; Gay, *Life in Dixie*, 218; Porcher, *Resources*, 477.
[161] Porcher, *Resources*, 636; Jones, *Diary*, I, 165.
[162] Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 248.
[163] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80; Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 196.
[164] Porcher, *Resources*, 438.
[165] Porcher, *Resources*, 614; *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17.
[166] Porcher, *Resources*, 471; New Orleans *Picayune*, November 14, 1861.
[167] Porcher, *Resources*, 661.
[168] Porcher, *Resources*, 669.
[169] Charleston *Mercury*, January 21, 1862.
[170] *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), March 17, 1862.
[171] Bell Irwin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy*, 37.
[172] Porcher, *Resources*, 228.
[173] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 79-80.

nutritious drink, more nearly approaching genuine coffee flavor than any discovered.[174]

Free samples were usually given away to interested persons, and the cost was reasonable. But housewives generally seemed to prefer their own mixtures.

To a lesser extent than coffee, tea was missed during the war. It was never as popular a drink as coffee, yet there were those who missed it sufficiently to search for substitutes. Most common of the expedients was sassafras tea, a beverage long familiar to many, especially Negroes.[175] The leaves of blackberries,[176] raspberries, huckleberries,[177] currants, willow, sage, various vegetables,[178] and the holly tree were used as tea substitutes.[179] One of the most famous substitutes was "yaupon tea." Long in use by many, it became popular in coastal regions where the yaupon grows in abundance. To make this tea, one used leaves and twigs, usually boiling them in water and adding molasses and milk. Fortunately for the times, it "was considered vulgar to use sugar for sweetening Yopon [sic]." The story is told that the same lady who refused to use sugar remarked that yaupon tea was so healthful that it had kept her "out of heaven" for years.[180]

With the exception of coffee, the beverages most often mentioned as short were alcoholic stimulants. Foreign sources of supply were only slightly tapped during the war, but when choice wines, brandies, and whiskies were brought through the blockade they met with immediate sale despite their tremendous cost. The scarcity of these beverages forced people to seek substitutes. Practically everything was used to produce the distilled beverage. One editor facetiously gave this recipe for lager beer, so sure was he, after tasting some of local make, that these must have been the component parts:

Take an old bootleg, and an old cast-off red flannel shirt, and put in five gallons of rainwater. Let it stand for two weeks and ferment well. Then put it into a ten gallon keg, adding two quarts of china berries, three gallons of water from a tub used by

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[174] Montgomery *Daily Advertiser*, March 5, 1864.
[175] Loughborough, *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, 103; Higgins, "Life on a Southern Plantation," 168.
[176] *Richmond Whig*, October 17, 1862; *Daily Rebel* (Chattanooga), October 31, 1862.
[177] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.
[178] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 80.
[179] Hague, *Blockaded Family*, 102.
[180] Moore, *Rebellion Record*, II, 103, quoting the Raleigh *Standard*.

shoemakers to soak leather in (three months old) . . . and one pound of assafoedita. Let it stand for one week and add a couple of Florida beans.[181]

Brandy made during the war was so dangerous to drink that it was said that the life insurance companies refused to insure the life of an individual who was in the habit of taking occasional drinks.[182] It was said that the whiskey "cauterizes the mucous membrane of the windpipe; sets the brain on fire, and sends a cold tremor through the system. The soldier who indulges in a half dozen nips is likely to stay drunk for a week; and the second or third application drives the breath out of the body."[183]

It is interesting to note just what did go into these beverages. Whiskey, one of the most popular of the alcoholic drinks and one of the most profitable to make, was distilled from anything and everything. Regardless of the content, all whiskey found immediate sale. The Richmond *Examiner* said that of the enterprises stimulated by the war, "the manufacture and sale of whiskey" took the lead. Whiskey was sold "in back rooms of family grocers and confectionary shops . . . and in the more reputable establishments of trade."[184] "Moonshiners" did a good business, "running day and night, . . . finding ready sale for all they produced."[185] Despite rigid state legislation against the use of grain, a large amount went into whiskey. Most of this whiskey was made from corn or other grains, but it was also distilled from sweet potatoes,[186] rice,[187] sorghum seed,[188] and persimmons.[189] The descriptions given most of these whiskies ran from a mere "unpalatable"[190] to "vile,"[191] but they all agreed on the effect. One person summed up the matter as follows: "They seem to fly through the system with alacrity."[192] Beer, too, was made from varying and interesting substitutes. Frequently molasses and water with a little ginger, plus yeast, when it could be found, were brewed together and called "Confederate Beer." Corn[193]

[181] Natchez *Daily Courier*, April 15, 1863.
[182] Natchez *Daily Courier*, April 15, 1863.
[183] *Southern Cultivator*, XX (1862), 115.
[184] *Richmond Examiner*, January 27, 1862.
[185] Joseph Jacobs, "Some Drug Conditions During the War Between the States," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 166.
[186] *Wilmington Journal*, February 12, 1863.
[187] Charleston *Mercury*, February 16, 1863.
[188] *Official Records*, Series IV, III, 712.
[189] *Southern Confederacy*, December 14, 1862.
[190] E. Philips to James J. Philips, March 27, 1864, James J. Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[191] Hopley, *Life in the South*, II, 198.
[192] Charleston *Mercury*, February 16, 1863.
[193] Porcher, *Resources*, 635-636.

and persimmons[194] were also used, and the product of the latter was referred to as "possum beer."[195] For hops, which were very scarce, peach leaves were used extensively.[196] But the beer that resulted caused one editor to scream, " 'Mein Got,' our German friends must raise the blockade."[197] Since palatable wines and brandies could be made from fruits, the results were much more satisfactory than in the case of whiskey and beer. Brandies, liqueurs, and wines were made from blackberries,[198] apples,[199] peaches,[200] plums,[201] watermelon juice,[202] elder-berries,[203] and carrots.[204] In Alabama brandy was made from the sweet potato; the product was described as the worst of all "liquified lightening."[205] Apparently only the most brazen attempted to call any of the wartime brews "champagne." But one amateur distiller made what he called champagne from three parts of water and one part corn, with enough molasses added to sweeten it properly. It was totally without effervescence, the name being the only thing that bore a resemblance to real champagne.[206] In Savannah, Georgia, juniper berries and whiskey blended together was sold for "imported Holland gin."[207] Certainly the alcoholic stimulants sold during the Civil War were among the most unique ever made. Although the poet, William Gilmore Simms, found his brew of persimmon beer "equalled to the best sparkling 'Jersey champagne,' "[208] most people failed to find such satisfaction in the domestic products.

Milk, too, was scarce in many parts of the Confederacy. One prominent lady recorded in her diary that her household "had not had milk more than twice in eighteen months, and then it was sent by a . . . friend."[209] When milk could be obtained, it was usually adulterated so that a little might go farther. It was

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[194] Porcher, *Resources*, 425.
[195] Gordon, "Hard Times in the Confederacy," 766.
[196] Gordon, "Hard Times in the Confederacy," 200; Arkansas *State Gazette* (Little Rock), July 19, 1862.
[197] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 3, 1861.
[198] Porcher, *Resources*, 169.
[199] Jones, *A Rebel War-Clerk's Diary*, II, 336; Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 578.
[200] Handy, "Confederate Makeshifts," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, LII (1876), 578.
[201] *Richmond Whig*, June 14, 1864; Charleston *Mercury*, July 23, 1864.
[202] Porcher, *Resources*, 68.
[203] Porcher, *Resources*, 449.
[204] Porcher, *Resources*, 48-49.
[205] Mercer Otey, "Story of our Great War," *Confederate Veteran*, IX (1901), 154.
[206] Mercer Otey, "Operations of the Signal Corps," *Confederate Veteran*, VIII (1900), 129.
[207] E. Philips to James J. Philips, March 27, 1864, James J. Philips Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[208] Porcher, *Resources*, 425.
[209] McGuire, *Diary*, 324.

sometimes mixed with water,[210] and at other times it was mixed with ground corn.[211] When cream was not available to use in coffee or tea, beaten eggwhites were sometimes used.[212]

Even water of a drinkable quality was not always available in the Confederacy. One of the chief complaints of the people of besieged Vicksburg was that they had only the muddy water of the Mississippi River to drink.[213] The best hostesses of Richmond were sometimes forced to offer their guests water from the James River, "which was often thick enough and red enough" to pass as "something more nourishing."[214] Recognizing that such situations existed in the South, the *Confederate Receipt Book* published a formula for purifying muddy water.[215]

The severity of the food and beverage shortage caused institutions responsible for feeding large groups of people untold confusion. Practically all colleges and boarding schools left the board charges unannounced until the opening of school. Some schools imposed penalties on all who left any food on their plates,[216] while from Porcher's School in South Carolina the son of former Governor Allston wrote that nothing but squash and hominy was to be had for months at a time.[217] Elizabeth Allston, daughter of the former governor of South Carolina, wrote that the fare went from bad to worse at Madame Togno's School in Columbia. For tea the students had only corn dodgers and water, and they finally ceased going to supper.[218] Boarding houses, too, faced difficult problems. They rationed their food among the boarders so that all might be assured of a fair portion of the scanty fare.[219] Hotels found it necessary to go on the European plan because of the food shortage.[220] In crowded houses, where one cook might serve several families, there was a constant difficulty in keeping provisions separate. Coffee proved the easiest to isolate for "each house-wife had her own particular concoction."[221]

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[210] W. D. Pender to Mrs. W. D. Pender, October 1, 1861, W. D. Pender Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
[211] Pryor, *My Day*, 264.
[212] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 17.
[213] Loughborough, *Cave Life in Vickesburg*, 104.
[214] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.
[215] *Confederate Receipt Book*, 19. "Dissolve half an ounce of alum in a pint of water, and stirring it about in a puncheon of water from the river, all the impurities will soon settle to the bottom, and in a day or two it will become quite clear."
[216] Dodge, "Domestic Economy in the Confederacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, LVIII, 240.
[217] Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 193-194.
[218] Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, 178.
[219] Wright, *A Southern Girl in '61*, 176.
[220] Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*, 349.
[221] Clara Minor Lynn Papers, Manuscript Division, Confederate Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

Despite grave shortages of food, people could still make light of their hardships. While there were food riots in various cities, this was not usual. Most of the civilians approached the problem with a better sense of humor. Some reported that they ate green persimmons to shrink their stomachs;[222] a newspaper editor wrote that the people of the Confederacy should laugh, for laughter would make them fat. He added: "With the prevailing scarcity of provisions—'laugh' is about the cheapest thing they can fatten on this spring, and we would not be surprised if they did not raise the price of that."[223] No group in the Confederacy suffered from the lack of food more than did the inhabitants of Vicksburg during the siege. Yet they could laugh at their troubles. When the Federal army took the town, a soldier found the following menu:

Hotel de Vicksburg, Jeff Davis Co., proprietors—

Soup: mule tail
Boiled: Mule Bacon with Polk Greens
Roast: Saddle of Mule á la teamster
Entrees: Mule head stuffed, Reb fashion; Mule Beef, jerk á la Yankee; Mule liver, hashed á la explosion.
Dessert: Cotton berry pie, en Ironclad, Chinaberry tart.
Liquors: Mississippi Water, vintage 1492, very inferior, $3. Limestone water, late importation, very fine. Extra (black seal) Vicksburg bottled-up — $4. Meals at Few Hours, Gentlemen to wait on themselves. Any inattention in service to be reported at the office.

Jeff. Davis and Comp., Props.[224]

Because of the scarcity of food and drink, refreshments at social gatherings were very simple. "Starvation Parties" were popular during the war. These were simple affairs where good fellowship and water were the only things to be had. Occasionally all would contribute money and hire a fiddler so that there might be dancing; but refreshments were "strictly forbidden."[225] Often in the family circle, after a scant meal, conversation would turn toward the tasty dishes enjoyed in bygone days.[226] One lady tells how she always kept a recipe book on her mantle, and when such

[222] Clay-Clopton, *A Belle of the Fifties*, 179.
[223] *Daily Rebel* (Chattanooga), March 3, 1863.
[224] DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 274. A menu in a slightly varied form was published in the *Richmond Examiner*, August 25, 1863. See also *Rebellion Records*, VII, 50-51.
[225] Chestnut, *Diary*, 250, 260, 270; DeLeon, *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the Sixties*, 396.
[226] Putnam, *Richmond During the War*, 315; Jones, *Diary*, II, 335.

conversation started, she read a recipe for a rich pudding or cream. She admitted that it failed to satisfy the appetite, but it was "as good for the digestion."[227]

Hunger was the rule in the Confederacy. While a very few had bounteous plenty and some had a sufficiency, there were many who daily felt the pangs of hunger. While the Confederate army fought the Union army on the battlefield, housewives fought another enemy, hunger, in their homes. Recognizing the presence of this second enemy, the newspapers and periodicals spread wartime recipes and the discovery of expedients throughout the land. With the cooperation of the press and the women mass starvation was averted, but hunger was never completely alleviated.

[227] Chesnut, *Diary*, 376.

THE DIARY OF JOSEPH GALES
1794-1795

Edited by WILLIAM S. POWELL

The combination diary and cashbook of Joseph Gales for 1794 and 1795,[1] aside from the fact that it is the record of a brief but stormy period in the career of one of early America's outstanding journalists, is of interest for its very detailed account of an Englishman's preparations for a voyage to America and the subsequent voyage itself. Its minutiae reveal the cost of such an undertaking during the last years of the eighteenth century, the vagrancies of the ship at sea, and the details of daily life with which the traveller occupied himself.

Joseph Gales (1761-1841), printer, journalist, and reformer, was born at Eckington near Sheffield, England, and at the age of thirteen was apprenticed to a Manchester printer in whose home he soon was mistreated. Young Gales returned to Eckington and shortly afterwards began work with a printer in Newark-on-Trent where he became a master printer and binder. While there he met Winifred Marshall, a novelist and student of the classics, whom he married on May 4, 1784.[2] Soon thereafter Gales set up his own printing and publishing establishment in Sheffield and in June, 1787, began publication of the *Sheffield Register,* a weekly.[3]

Gales' newspaper was noted for its liberal tone and its pleas on behalf of labor. As editor he paid tribute to the French Revolutionists and not only sold thousands of copies of *Rights of Man,* but also befriended its author, Thomas Paine. He favored the abolition of slavery and of imprisonment for debt, universal manhood suffrage, and the reform of the English judicial system.

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[1] This manuscript, in an octavo notebook of twenty-four leaves, is in the diary collection of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Its provenance is unknown. Twenty-six pages are devoted to a cashbook with debit and credit entries on separate pages; the volume, when inverted and opened the opposite way, contains a diary of twenty-two pages with one or more pages in the beginning missing. Thin leaves of blotting paper are bound in the volume between most of the leaves. The upper portion of a fleur-de-lis watermark can be seen in the blotting paper, while a portion of a large oval watermark and the initials "G R" appear in the notepaper. Both papers have chain lines, though they run in opposite directions as the volume is constructed. No trace of any sort of binding is discernible. All entries are in ink.

[2] William E. Smith, "Joseph Gales," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), VII, 99.

[3] R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800,* (Chapel Hill, 1927), 169.

Severe criticism of the Pitt government caused Gales to be condemned by that government and ordered to be arrested. With the suspension of the writ of habaes corpus he fled to the Continent.[4] His cashbook under date of May, 1794, indicates that he spent £42 "in his Journey to London from thence to Holland and afterwards to Hamburgh in 15 weeks."

By September Gales had settled in Altona, Schleswig-Holstein, not far from Hamburg. In 1794[5] Winifred Gales sold the *Sheffield Register* and James Montgomery, the poet, who had been clerk, bookkeeper, and contributor to the paper since 1792 became its editor.[6] She and the four children, Joseph, Sarah, Thomas, and Winifred, then joined Gales in Germany.

The diary of Joseph Gales covers the period between September 24, 1794, and July 30, 1795, when he arrived in Philadelphia, while the cashbook contains entries made between May, 1794, and December 26, 1795. What the first page or pages of the diary, now missing, would reveal is, of course, impossible to know. The first page now remaining presents Gales and his family aboard ship leaving Germany. Cashbook entries show that early in September one Captain MacPherson had been paid £52-10-0 for their passage aboard the *Jean.*

Diary of Joseph Gales

The sa[me] Night[7] about ten o'Clock C[apt.] Macpherson[8] and another [man] arrived, and the next Day in the [morn?]ing we made Way as far as Luckstadt. On the Thursd[ay] M[orn]ing, about four o'Clock the Wind being S.W. we again made Way and sailed on to Sea with the same Wind and moderate Weather: but, after we had sailed about 16 or 18 Miles to Sea, the W[ind] changed to N.W. blew very hard and looked

[4] Smith, *D.A.B.*, VII, 99-100; Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 765-766. Gales' wife in a letter to Jared Sparks, October 16, 1821 (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat) referred to Germany as "the Country where we first sought an asylum from the oppression of a corrupt administration . . . our voluntary exile, if that can be called *voluntary*, which was forced upon us by the tyrannical proceedings against those Editors of Newspapers who advocated the cause of Reform."

[5] Probably late in July or early in August, as the first entry in the cashbook for August shows, £28-7-0 "expended by Wife in purchasing Cloaths & other Necessaries at Sheffd. previous to her setting out from thence."

[6] Richard Garnett, "James Montgomery," in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1894), XXXVIII, 318. Montgomery was imprisoned for libel in 1795 and again the following year, but continued to edit the paper until 1825 when he sold it. Winifred Gales in a letter to Jared Sparks (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat) on January 24, 1828, reported that Gales sisters acquired the book-selling business at the time Montgomery took over the printing establishment.

[7] September 24, 1794.

[8] The debit page of Gales' cashbook under date of September 28, 1794, records £31-10-0 received of "Mesrs Parrish & Co on acct of Captn Macpherson of my passage money." The sum of £10-2-0 was received on the same date "of W. Van Kennel for a pr Blankets on leaving the Jean."

very black, so that the Captain thought it prudent to return into the Elbe to anchor. [Dur]ing the Night, the Wind blew excessively hard, and caused a very high [sea?] so much that the Captain [was n]ot without Apprehensions for [the] Anchor, though a very good one. [The] next Day, the Weather continuing stormy, and the Wind contrary, we weighed Anchor, and returned to Crookshaven, where we passed another very stormy Night: and not thinking himself yet safe, the Ship returned to Luckstadt, which place we reached on Saturday a[t] [d]inner-Time.

Whilst we were out at Sea my Wife was very sick and was sure she sh[d]. not be able to endure the voyage (so were all except Joseph & Winifred) and when orders were given to return into the River, on Acc[t]. of the stormy Weather and contrary Wind, as considering that we could now reckon upon little more than six Weeks [of] my Wife's Pregnancy, we determine[d] to give up the Voyage for the present and return to Altona for the Winter. But on informing the Captain of our Intention he insisted upon a Forfeiture of 25 Guineas. This was thought an exorbitant Sum; but a[s] my Wife had said she was sure she could not endure the Voyage, I determined at any rate to leave the Ship, and on my dwelling upon the Hardness of my Case to the Captain, he, at length, agreed to take 20 Guineas. — The Wind remaining contrary and the Wea[ther] very boisterous, we left the S[hip] on Sunday about Noon [in a] Boat, for which we [were forced to] pay six Dollars[9] (for the Pilots [thrive?] upon the distresses of persons upon the Water). — After having left the Ship a little way, we discovered that a small Box was left behind containing Child bed Linen; but the Weather was so rough that we could not return, so that to get this Box, though a Pilot boat had to go past the Ship, cost us seven Marks.[10]

We arrived safely at Altona on Sunday evening about six o'Clock & after remaining two Days at M[r]. [Stain]metz's,[11] went into a furnished [apartment?] of M[r]. Pinkures, for which we [agreed?] to pay him ten Dollars per . . . .[12]

On the 17th of November, about eig[ht] o'Clock in the Evening, after having been very unwell from the Time of entering into our new Habitation my Wife was safely delivered of a Daughter.[13] (We afterwards learnt that the Jane [*sic*] did not arrive in Philadelphia till the 2[d] of Dec.) So weak was she that It was six Weeks before she was able to come down Stairs, and

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[9] The cashbook indicates that Gales spent £1-4-0 on September 28 "to a Pilot Boat to convey us from on Board the Jean from Luckstadt to Altona."

[10] This sum was entered in the cashbook on the first day of October as 9/. Gales' use of dollars, pounds, and marks was not consistent even in his cashbook entries.

[11] For these two days Gales paid 15/4.

[12] Illegible. On October 1 £1-18-0 was paid "for the use of Mr. Pinkres's [*sic*] Rooms & Furn during the month of Oct." Gales' rent, according to his cashbook, was always paid in advance.

[13] Altona, who married the Rev. Anthony Forster. She figures prominently in the letters of Winifred Gales. (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostats) Altona died in 1827. *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, November 23, 1827. It is interesting to note that another of the Gales children, Weston Raleigh Gales, bore the name of the city of his birth.

when she did come down, she was seized with a Kind of Kramp at her Stomach which continuing for a Week, we were obliged to call in a Physician, who was so skilful as to remove the Pain immediately. He paid three Visits in his Coach & only charged 5/.

From this Time all was well except my Apprentice John Clayton,[14] who seemed to decline in his Health daily, apparently a Consumptive, and my Wife the third [or fo]urth Time of her walking out after she returned complained of her great Toe paining her. We took little Notice of it for several Days but as it grew worse, a Poultice was put upon it, and getting no better, we called in a Surgeon who attended it sometimes daily, and sometimes omitting a Day until the Time of our quitting Altona, a Period of about 8 Weeks, for which he charged only 12/.[15]

Considering that we were in a Country perfectly strange to us, and that we were in other Respects uncomfortably situated the Time passed as agreeably as we could expect.[16] We became acquainted with M^{r}. Haustein, who had served the Elector of Hanover, as a Soldier 20 years (9 of which were passed at Gibralter in the War against Spain where he learnt the English Language) but who was now an agent to the King of Denmark's Lotteries. This M^{r}. Haustein appeared studious [to] oblige us in every little thing which lay in his Power. Indeed the Friendly attention which he paid to us, created in me a very sincere Friendship for him, as I believed him to be an upright, honest Man.

The Winter was excessively cold, & the Frost was so severe that the River Elbe was frozen up for 16 Weeks, so that for all this Time we rec^{d}. no Letter or Information from England.[17] When we did hear which was about the [blank] of March, our Friends expressed their Hopes and Wishes for our Return to England. I therefore expressed by Letter my Willingness to return to my native Land, if it were thought by my Frd^{s}. to be safe and eligible. A Meeting was therefore held by my Frd^{s}. at Sheffield to consult upon the Eligibility and Safety of this Step, when it was concluded that it was not safe for me to return to England whilst the Suspension of the Heabeas Corpus Act was continued, or the System of Persecution for political Practices continued. Therefore my affairs not being yet brought to a

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[14] Referred to as Jack. See below page 339.

[15] Mrs. Gales later recalled in glowing terms of praise the very kind treatment which she received at the hands of her German nurse at this time. She also has recorded that when the physician who treated her toe made known his charges she asked, through an interpreter, if he had not forgotten how many times he had treated her. His answer was, she recalled in later years, "I remember the Lady is a stranger, and in a strange Land, and has many dear little children." Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, October 16, 1821 (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, photostat).

[16] Entries in his cashbook during the period of his residence in Altona show how much at home Gales really was. The family had rented an apartment and regular expenditures for fuel and other household expenses are recorded and a few items of furniture were purchased. Young Joseph was enrolled in a school whose tuition rates were four marks a quarter. In May, just prior to leaving Germany, Gales had some books bound. Earlier he had bought a map of Europe and frequent expenditures for shoes and shoe repairing for the children suggest a very active group of youngsters.

[17] By the end of March, however, this situation was changed. The cashbook records that Gales spent 8/6 on the last day of the month "for Freight of a Box from England, &c." On April 18 he received a gift of £5-5-0 from his sisters.

Sett[t]. at Sheffield, and finding by my Letter, that by passing an Expensive Winter at Altona my Stock of Money was run low, it was agreed to raise me a Sum of Money, partly as a Gift, and partly as a Loan. This was done and after an uncertain suspense of many Months, on the 23 of May I recd. a Letter from Rob[t]. Hadfields of Sheffield (to whom I had written as my sincere & confidential Friend) inclosing a Bill for 70[£] [18] partly as a Gift and partly as a Loan from my Friends with an Intimation that it was intended to raise me farther, a Loan from one to 300[£] and that if I chose to order my Type &c. as I had proposed, from London, they would pay for it.

Thus set at Liberty from our Suspense and Difficulties, I immediately looked out for a Ship bound for New York or Philadelphia, and found the Charles & Henry, Capt. Slade, ready to sail for Philadelphia as soon as the Wind favoured him;[19] I therefore (accompanied by M[r]. Joel Barlow, who was then [in] Altona,[20] and from whom & M[rs]. Barlow, we rec[d]. many Civilities) engaged our Passage with Capt Slade for 60 Guineas — to be accommodated with every Necessary on the Voyage in his Cabbin.[21]

The Wind appearing likely to change, on Friday the 29th the Capt. gave us Notice to be on Board the next Morning,[22] which by sitting up most of the Night to pack and prepare for our Voyage we effected. The Wind did not get to the East before Monday [June 1, 1795], on which Day, about two o'Clock in the afternoon we set sail with most delightful Weather, and next Day about the same Hour got out to Sea.

When we came on Board little Thomas & Sarah were somewhat indisposed (Thomas had been so all the Spring) and on the 2[d]. Day my Wife was seized with a severe Fever, and lay in Bed for most of two Days. On the 3[d]. Day however, she seems[23] recovered, her Lips break out, and has been scarcely sick at all. Sarah continues poorly, but Thomas is better. Myself, Sarah & Thomas have been a little Sea Sick. The Wind & Weather continues favourable & we sail from 3 to 5 Knots an Hour.

I should have mentioned that Jack [John Clayton, his apprentice] contrived to get weaker & weaker, from Day to Day,

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[18] Gales, of course was obliged to exchange this for German currency and received the equivalent of £66-18-9. The difference, it is presumed, was the exchange charge.

[19] On May 28, 1795, he paid for the passage of himself and his family "60 Guineas (which reckoning a Guinea at 16-8 is) [£] 66."

[20] Barlow, a native of Connecticut, had been in Europe since 1788 and like Gales had been on friendly terms with Thomas Paine. It was he who saw *The Age of Reason* through the press when Paine was imprisoned. Barlow was very influential in France and quite wealthy. In October, 1795, he was appointed United States Consul to Algiers. Theodore A. Zunder and Stanley T. Williams, "Joel Barlow," in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), I, 609-613. *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832), I ("Foreign Relations," I), 723.

[21] Among the supplies purchased for the voyage, however, were wine, liquors, Neat's tongue, raisins, currants, sugar, a flask, cellar and glasses, swieback, eggs, a coffee mill, and "other small Provns."

[22] For the hire of a wagon and boat to get his family and goods aboard the *Charles and Henry*, Gales paid 10/.

[23] This change of tense would indicate that Gales wrote the preceding account prior to this date—June 3, 1795—probably while aboard ship waiting for a favorable wind. Subsequent entries seem to have been made daily.

and himself thinking that were he to return to England, his native Air would recover him, I paid his Passage back by a Ship to Hull, Capt. Brandt, Master, and put two Guineas into his Pocket. The Ship sailed at the same Time with us.[24]

June 5 Wind yet fair & fine Weather & sail from 3 to 5 Knots.

6 Wind fair & brisk gale, sail from 5 to 7½ Knots.

7 Wind fair but not so brisk & tow^ds Evening the Hemisp grew thick & the Wind calm, but about ten in the Eveng a gale of Wind came on which blew most of the Night. — about 11 A.M. we made Shetland, and lost Sight of them about five.

8 Wind fair & brisk, sail from 4 to 6 Knots — about 4 P.M. saw two Pieces of Land, one a small Rock, and kept to the North to miss them.

9 Wind fair, but very slender, in the Afternoon quite calm; about ten oClock a west Wind came on; but towards Morng it blew more to the North, so that the Ship lay her Course and sailed from 3 to 5 Knots.

10 Fine East Wind — sailed from five to seven Knots — clear of European Land.

11 Wind still fair, but not strong.

12 The same.

13 Wind fair but slender, not more than two Knots.

Sunday 14 Wind fair & freshens — to about four Knots.

15 Wind fair but slender.

16 The same, but freshens tow^ds. Eveng.

17 Wind good, 4 and 5 Knots.

18, 19 Wind fair, but slender, sometimes quite calm.

20 Wind very strong & mostly a-head; in the Night it blew quite a gale.

Sunday 21 At five in the Morng. the Vessel lay to in a gale which cont^d. till two: and it afterwards remained squally, blowing very hard mostly a-head.

22 Still blowing hard & squally — the Wind in all Quarters.

23 Moderate. At 8 oClock spoke the Mercury, Capt. Marshall from Philadelphia, 32 Days having had nothing but rainy & blowing Weather. He had lost his Topmast. He was bound for Hambro'. In the Evening the Wind blew stronger and more ahead and during the Night we had a perfect gale of Wind in which the Ship laid to most of the Night.

24 The Wind cont^d. to blow fresh, but more aft, and we had a fine Run of from 6½ to 5 Knots an Hour.

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[24] Gales also purchased a pair of shoes for his apprentice. The latter's fare to England was £1-11-6.

25 The Wind yet fresh, but rather a-head — sailed from 3 to 4 Knots.
26 The Wind not quite so fresh — sailed about 4½ Knots.
27 The wind the same, but grows light — 3 and 4 Knots.
Sunday 28 (Eck^{s}. Feast)[25] In the Morning very light Wind, but tow^{ds}. Noon entirely calm, which cont^{d}. till eleven oClock at Night, when a very light Breeze sprung from the South-West and the Vessell having been carried somewhat too far to the South by the last Wind, it was shifted to the other Tack, and steered West in order to cross the Bank of Newfoundland. In Honor of Eck^{s}. F. Wife made all Hands P. Pudding & Punch.
June 29 Light Breeze from South-West which freshened to 4 Knots & then dwindled away to 1.
30 Very light Breeze from same Quarter.
July 1 Very light Wind — at 3 P.M. spoke the Iphigenia from N. York 16 Days bound to Bourdeaux.
2 Wind freshened sailed from 4 to 6 Knots — a little Rain.
3 Wind still fresh from 6½ to 4 in the Forenoon — about one oClock calm but afterwards it blew very fresh from the SW. so that we were obliged to take in Sail. It blew hard all Night — a little Rain.
4 Wind fresh till Noon, then died away to calm about six in the Eveng the Wind sprung from the N and blew fresh all Night.
Sunday July 5 Wind fresh from N by E we sail from 6 to 4 Knots.
6 Wind still fair & fine Weather. Sail about 4 Knots regularly.
7 Wind fair & stout till Noon, then changed to S. and produced a thick Fog — sailed about 3 Knots.
July 8 Fog continues & Wind the same till about 3 P.M. when the Fog cleared & the Wind changed to S.W. and blew pretty strong.
9 Little Wind quite a-head W.
10 The same.
11 Fine Weather and brisk Breeze from W.S.W. which takes us three Points from our Course of W by S. At 3 P.M. Wind changed to N. and blew strongly for a few Hours.
Sunday July 12 Almost calm — about 10 A.M. a small Breeze from N.E. with Rain. At Midday saw a Sail going to the East, which came within about a League of us. The Breeze freshened tow^{ds}. Eveng.

[25] The term "feast" was often applied to an ordinary birthday celebration and this note on "Ecks. Feast" may have referred to the birthday celebration of John Eckstein, German painter, sculptor, and engraver, who is known to have settled in Philadelphia in 1794. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), VI, 5.

Monday July 13 Fine Breeze from E. all Day, went from 6 to 4 Knots.

14 Fresh Breezes from S.E. Saw a ship bearing North, which passed us at about 2 Leagues distance. Abt. 10 A.M. Rain came on and the Wind shifted 2 or 3 Points difft. Ways and sometimes blew hard. At five the Wind shifted right a-head, viz W. during the Night it became more favourable so that the Vessel lay her Course.

July 15 The Wind still about N.W. but the Sea running high, made little Progress. At Night the Wind fell away and the Vessel made no Progress till

16 Eight in the Morng. a light Breeze sprung from the S.E. which contd. to strengthen till Evening, when it blew almost a gale and rained considerably. The Captn. supposed himself from the black appearance of the Weather, and the Roughness of the Sea, to be in the Gulph Stream, and steered W by N. to avoid it.

17 The Weather clearer and Wind, which had been strong all Night contd. brisk at E. Saw a Sail at 5 A.M. Standg North. In the afternoon the Wind conted northerly & died away. The Night wholly calm.

18 At five A.M. a light Breeze sprung from the E. but kept veering round to the South and from Hence to the North till it came to N.E. at 6 P.M. when we wore Ship, and stood upon the other Tack.

Sunday July 19 The Wind a head, made but little advance. At 6 A.M. saw a Brig apparently from an American Port bound to the West Indies. At 5 P.M. saw a Schooner in the S.E. which bearing towards us all took for a Pilot Boat & we accordingly put the Sails a-back to wait for her; but, to our great Surprize, on her nearer approach we espied a Man at the Masthead and Eng. Colours hoisted. She was then thought to be what she proved, a Privateer. She hailed us, and sent a Boat on Board with the 2d. Lieut. & a Prize Master, who, after the ordy. Salutations, demanded to see the Captns. Papers. He shewed them, and afterwds. went on Bd. with them to the Captn of the Schooner, where he remained for more than an Hour, during which Time the Lieut. & Prize Master remained with us making every Enquiry they could. When our Captn. retd. the Capt. of the Schooner came with him, and desired to see his Letters, which our Captn. hesitating to give up (having a great No. on Bd) the Hero of the Privateer positively demanded. The Lieut. & he, however, not being very apt at reading, about half a Dozn. Letters were all they opened — to get at which they broke open the Hamb. Post-office Seals. — About Midnight, the Priv. Officers returned to their Schoon-

er purposing to see us the next Day. The Schooner was named the Thetis Capt. Hudgion. They tell us we are more than 300 miles from shore, which is 200 more than we expected.

July 20 Wind yet a-head, being W. and rather foggy. We saw the Schooner Thetis about 3 P.M. apparently in Pursuit of a Brig standing to the South.

21 Morning calm & warm. Forenoon much Thunder & Lightning. At Noon a Storm of Rain, after which the Wind came from the East, and gave us a good Run till Midnight, of from 5 to 7 Miles per Hour. At 5 P.M. spoke the Brig Betsey, from Savannah to Boston, who confirmed that wch the Privater had given us of our longitude. At 8 oClock this Morning, we struck Soundings, for the first Time, in 80 Fathoms Water. We tried for Fish, but without Effect. Saw 2 or 3 other Vessels to the North at a Distance.

July 22 Wind again from the Westward, but changeable a few Points. In the Afternoon it became foggy and in the Night rained very fast.

23 Very light Wind from the East but the Rain & Fog having raised a high Sea, we made no advance with it. The wind increased, and we made a good Run for a few Hours, but a Calm came on in the Night.

24 Morning foggy and calm, which continued for most of the Day, with some Rain, & a small variable Wind at different Times. At Ten a Breeze sprung up, with which the Vessell just lay her Course — this contd. tho' at Times very smal[l], during the Night.

25 A small, but fair Breeze, which in the afternoon freshened. Saw a Vessell steering the Northward, apparently from the W. Indies, but did not speak her though very near.

Sunday July 25 Wind continues fair and Weather fine. At 6 P.M. we sounded in 25 Fathom Water. The Wind died away about ten and it was calm all the Night. At Midnight 20 Fathom Water.

July 27 A fine clear Morning, and a light Breeze springs up from the East: at seven o'Clock saw a Sail to the S.E. standing towards us, which proved a Pilot Boat. We put back Part of our Sails, and took a Pilot on Board about 10 A.M. At nine we saw Land from the Masthead and casting the Lead, found 13½ Fathom Water. At one o'Clock we passed Cape Hunlopen[26] with a fine Breeze, which with the Tide, carried us 15 Miles in the Hour. About 5 P.M. a Thunder Squall overtook us & we came to anchor, about 60 Miles up the Bay.

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[26] Cape Henlopen, Delaware Bay.

July 28 We weighed anchor about 3 A.M. and, the Wind being contrary, tacked up with the Tide. We did the same in the Evening.

29 The Wind still contrary we were obliged to tack with the Tide. About Midday we came to Anchor a little above Wilmington when, after Dinner, Capt. Slade & I took the Boat and went on Shore, and this was the first Time I put foot upon American Land, and the first House I entered was that of a Mr. James which stands close by the Shore. After procuring a Quanty. of New Potatoes, Apples, cake, Bread & Butter, &c we returned to the Ship, just in Time to weigh Anchor for the next Tide, which carried us up to the Fort on State Island.

30 Morning very rainy. Betwixt 7 & 8 the Physician came on Board & soon dispatched us as all on Board, Thank God! were perfectly hearty. Capt. Slade then rowed to the Fort to announce & enter his ship, &c. and we soon afterwards got under Way; at first with the Wind somewhat favorable, but afterwards contrary. We however reached Philadelphia, and put safe into Hodges Wharf about one oClock P.M. The Weather still continuing rainy I went on Shore with the Capt. immediately & dined at Mr. Bushel's[27] the Cross Keys, in Front St. from when I sent my Family Dinner on Board the Ship, and having, for the present engaged Lodgings there, brought them in the Evening to the House.[28]

The Gales family lost no time in settling down in Philadelphia. Young Joseph hardly had time to become acquainted with his new surroundings when he was set to the task of studying; on September 11 his father spent fifty cents for a grammar and a copy book for him and before a month had passed, thirty-six cents for another book. Tuition for Joseph's schooling was $8.00 per quarter. A servant girl name Jane was hired for the family at four dollars for six weeks.[29] The elder Joseph began work on August 10 as a typesetter, and later as bookkeeper and reporter

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[27] On August 10 Gales paid Bushel $29.00 for twelve days board for himself and family. On the same day he paid $1.50 to have his personal property and household goods moved from Bushel's and from the customhouse where they were stored to one Scattergood's from whom he had rented a home at $10.70 a month. The cashbook for this period shows expenditures for china, furniture, lamps, fuel, milk, books, cooking utensils, andirons, and other housekeeping expenses. A haircut in 1795 cost Gales twelve cents while a month's milk supply for his family of four children was $4.20. A "Roma. History" for young Joseph cost .88¢.

[28] On August 1, before disembarking, Gales gave $2.00 as "Presents to the Cook & Boy on Bd the Ship."

[29] All sums mentioned as expended or received are from the Gales cashbook.

for *The American Daily Advertiser*,[30] published by the firm of Dunlap and Claypoole. It was while employed here that Gales used his knowledge of shorthand to report verbatim the proceedings of Congress — a thing theretofore untried in America. His wages, at least to the end of the year 1795 when the cashbook closes, were $10.00 per week. Young Joseph, later co-owner and editor of the powerful *National Intelligencer,* seems to have made a favorable impression upon John Dunlap of the *Daily Advertiser* because on August 15 he received a five dollar gold piece from his father's new employer.

The debit side of Gales' cashbook for this period contains frequent entries of sums for table covers sold at prices ranging from $1.15 to $10.00 each. One can only hazard the guess that these were the products of Winifred Gales' handwork, or else that they had been bought before leaving Germany especially to be sold in America.[31] The Gales family income also was supplemented by $21.70 received for "Sundries sold," $10.00 for a pair of pistols, $9.36 for some books, and $6.50 for some clothes that had belonged to his apprentice who returned to England just before Gales left Germany.

On September 10, 1796, Gales bought the Philadelphia newspaper, *Independent Gazetteer* and on September 16 the first number of *Gales's Independent Gazetteer* was published. He discontinued this paper almost exactly a year later — September 12, 1797 — and sold it to Samuel H. Smith who, on November 16, began publication of *The Universal Gazette.*[32]

Among Gales' friends in Philadelphia was Nathaniel Macon who, together with other Republican leaders, was responsible for his decision to remove to North Carolina.[33] In 1799 Gales left Philadelphia for Raleigh[34] and on October 22 of that year published the first number of his new newspaper, the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Weekly Advertiser.*[35] On December 2, 1800, the title of the newspaper was changed to *Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina State Gazette,* and on December

[30] Smith, *Dictionary of American Biography,* VII, 100.
[31] This latter supposition, however, seems less likely since no entry for such a purchase was made in the cashbook.
[32] Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947), I, 910, 920.
[33] H. M. Wagstaff, editor, *The Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh, 1924), I, 191.
[34] *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette,* August 27, 1841.
[35] Winifred Gregory, *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, A Union List* (New York, 1937), 506.

27, 1811, it became the *Raleigh Register, and North Carolina Gazette.*[36]

The North Carolina General Assembly, meeting in November and December, 1800, awarded the state's printing contract to Gales[37] and the volume of *Laws of North-Carolina* for that year was printed by him.

In his new home Gales' interests were directed into many channels. In 1801 he was among the petitioners seeking state aid for the establishment of an academy in Raleigh[38] and in 1928 he became a member of the first board of directors of a school for the deaf and dumb.[39] By 1806 he had opened a bookstore in Raleigh[40] and two years later was serving his community as a notary public.[41] He favored emancipation and colonization of the Negro slaves and in 1819 served as secretary to the Raleigh Auxiliary Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.[42] Gales also lent his support to the early efforts to establish a penitentiary.[43] He was a member of the board of directors of the State Bank[44] and served as mayor of Raleigh for nineteen years.[45] And finally, not out of keeping with the custom for newspaper editors of his day, he operated a paper mill.[46]

Gales' later years were spent in Washington where his eldest son, Joseph, and his son-in-law, William Winston Seaton, published the widely-read and influential *National Intelligencer.* Gales, while in Washington, compiled the first two volumes of the *Annals of Congress.*

Prior to his death, Gales returned to Raleigh where he owned a great deal of property. He died on August 24, 1841, and was

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[36] Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers,* I, 774-775.

[37] Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele,* I, 440.

[38] Charles L. Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1908), I, 26.

[39] Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina,* I, 382.

[40] John Haywood to John Steele, June 25, 1806. Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele,* I, 476.

[41] John Haywood to John Steele, January 6, 1808. Wagstaff, *The Papers of John Steele,* II, 536.

[42] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* 562, 569. At the time of his death, however, Gales owned seven slaves. Wills, 1837-1841, in office of clerk of superior court, Wake County courthouse, Raleigh, N. C.

[43] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* 661. In 1802 Gales published a sixteen-page pamphlet, *Dr. Jones's Speech on the Bill to amend the Penal Laws, By establishing A Penitentiary House for Criminals . . . Taken in Short Hand by J. Gales.* A copy of this report is in the pamphlet collection of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[44] J. G. De R. Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1918), I, 146.

[45] Smith, *Dictionary of American Biography,* VII, 100. Official records in the Raleigh City Hall, however, do not exist from which this statement can be verified.

[46] Inventory of Gales' estate accompanying his will in office of clerk of superior court, Wake County courthouse.

buried in the city cemetery near the East Street entrance. By the terms of his will he left his family[47] the remainder of his property not previously distributed among them.

[47] His family had not been without its wayward member. Letters from Joseph Gales, the younger, to David Daggett of New Haven, Connecticut, written in 1821 and 1824, now in the Yale University Library, mention his "lost" brother's child, a girl who had been born in Louisiana, whom the family was trying to locate and receive in North Carolina. Gales' will of 1841 contains bequests to certain persons whom he considered his grandchildren.

BOOK REVIEWS

Gallant Rebel: The Fabulous Cruise of the C. S. S. Shenandoah. By Stanley F. Horn. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1947. Pp. viii, 292. $2.75.)

The *Shenandoah* was the last armed cruiser to fly the Confederate flag and the only vessel to carry this flag around the world. Next to the *Alabama* she was the most destructive of United States shipping, taking in all nearly forty prizes valued at about $1,400,000. Originally the *Sea King*, a fast merchantman built for the India trade, the ship was purchased by Confederate agents at Liverpool in 1864 and sailed to the Madeiras where by prearrangement she was met and taken over by a crew under command of Captain James Iredell Waddell, a native of Pittsboro, North Carolina, and a graduate of the United States Naval Academy. Waddell equipped the vessel as an armed cruiser and set out for the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, taking prizes as they appeared. A defective propeller shaft and bearing necessitated dry-docking and general overhauling at Melbourne, during which some legal difficulties were encountered in regard to recruiting among neutrals. Although Waddell successfully extricated himself from these charges, his ship left Australia with forty-two welcome stowaways, who were promptly added to the short-handed crew.

Leaving Melbourne on February 18, 1865, Waddell proceeded with the execution of his orders to concentrate upon the hitherto untouched New England whaling fleet in the north Pacific. In operations that extended into Arctic waters and are remarkable for narrow escapes from icebergs and other terrors of the high latitudes, the *Shenandoah* wrought havoc upon the unsuspecting whalers. In June newspapers captured aboard a Bering Sea prize told of Lee's defeat; but since these papers also carried Davis' proclamation declaring that the war would be continued with renewed vigor, the cruise was not abandoned. At length on August 2, approximately a thousand miles west of Acapulco, Mexico, the British merchantman Barracouta, bound from San Francisco to Liverpool, reported beyond all doubt the complete collapse of the Confederacy. Without standing in maritime law and branded as a pirate in the United States, Waddell was urged

by junior crew members to beach the ship or to seek the nearest British colonial port. Wisely disregarding such advice, he laid a course for England by the way of Cape Horn, and on November 6, after a voyage of 17,000 miles without speaking a ship, the *Shenandoah* put in at Liverpool, where vessel and crew were surrendered to the British authorities.

The events above outlined have been woven by the author of this volume into as fine a sea yarn as one might wish to read. Mr. Horn knows how to tell a story; and if he had been content to acknowledge this as his purpose, his work would receive nothing but praise from this reviewer. Unfortunately, however, the work aspires to the character of "an authentic historical narrative," a clasification that can hardly be accepted. On nearly every page there appear lengthy conversations, in direct discourse, presumably reconstructed by the author from accounts he has consulted. Reference is made to "the scattered diaries and fugitive narratives" of the *Shenandoah's* officers, but with one or two exceptions these are not further identified or located. There are no footnote citations and there is no evaluation of sources, in particular the account of Cornelius E. Hunt (*The Shenandoah; or the Last Confederate Cruiser*), which is extremely critical of Waddell's integrity. One would also like to know how "the officials of the Navy Department in Washington . . . so kindly made available" the log of the *Shenandoah* when this document is and has been for many years in the Department of Archives and History at Raleigh.

Good writing does not need to be justified by calling itself history; but when an author attempts the latter, he should observe the canons which historical scholarship has imposed upon itself. In this case the author appears to have his categories confused.

James W. Patton.
The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929. By Nannie M. Tilley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 754. Illustrations. $8.00).

This volume presents far more history and more history that is significant than the modest title implies. The opening chapter

sketches the story of bright tobacco from the early seventeenth century when its virtues and the reasons for them were recognized to the period of the Civil War when formulas for its production were developed. In the thirteen chapters that follow every phase of the cultivation, marketing, and manufacture of this tobacco is presented in detail. This contribution in itself is important, but further significance derives from the historic role of bright tobacco. Its ultimate large-scale utilization led to fundamental changes in the methods of preparing the seed bed, in harvesting and curing, and in crop rotation. The complicated grading system needed for this tobacco was the main reason for the rise of the loose-leaf auction sale system of marketing. Also it was the utilization of bright tobacco that led to the development of almost every mechanical device used in tobacco factories today. Yet another way of emphasizing the significance of this study is to point out that the area devoted to bright tobacco produced about forty-nine per cent of all the tobacco grown in the United States in 1929. Furthermore, since this tobacco has long dominated the economy of the region where it is grown, its history, as delineated by Dr. Tilley, is also largely the history of the life of the people of that region.

The research presented in this volume is astounding and enviable. It is doubtful if even Dr. Tilley could name an available source that she for some reason has failed to track down and utilize. In addition, looming behind this masterly research, is the author's background. Her youth in the Old Bright Belt gave her an understanding of the tobacco country which she has seemingly unconsciously made part of her study. An equally gifted and well trained historian could have executed a good history on this subject, but probably no one could have imparted the comprehension that Dr. Tilley's unique advantage facilitated.

By virtue of her background and mastery of the subject, Dr. Tilley was in a position to interpret her findings as no one else could, but in this respect there are readers who will say that she has not done as much as she could and should have done. A noteworthy exception is her conclusion that it was speculation and the loose-leaf auction system rather than the manufacturers that were responsible for the low prices received by the tobacco farmers. In addition it may be pointed out that terms peculiar to

the industry are not always explained the first time they appear. In view, however, of the monumental nature of this study, these shortcomings should be characterized as regrets rather than as criticisms.

The volume is provided with over forty pertinent illustrations. The appendices present supplementary subject matter ranging from curing formulas to firm inventories. The bibliography, although designated as "selected," takes eighteen pages. The completeness and accuracy of the index does justice to the subject in that it makes the details readily available. These features, so frequently omitted in these days of popularization, add appreciably to this great contribution to agricultural and industrial history.

Everett E. Edwards.

United States Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

The Common Glory. By Paul Green. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 273. $2.75.)

This is Mr. Green's third in a series of plays based on American history, the previous two being *The Lost Colony* concerning Raleigh's unsuccessful attempt at colonization on Roanoke Island and *The Highland Call* about the glamorous career of Flora Macdonald. The Pulitzer Prize dramatist of Chapel Hill has at times contemplated many others: one dealing with the Moravians of Winston-Salem, a play of the Indians and frontiersmen of western North Carolina, a drama at Washington of our first President, and one revolving about the early history of the Southwest to be given in California. Historical pageantry is nothing new; our professional historians have long recognized its value in mass education, and chambers of commerce have been alert to other benefits. But the compositions of Paul Green have not been mere pageants. Rather, as the subtitle to *The Common Glory,* he appends "A Symphonic Drama of American History with Music, Commentary, English Folksong and Dance." The emphasis is upon the word *drama.* He realizes that the mere record of historical events may lose in unified performance, in audience interest. He is aware, too, that sheer

happenings need to be embellished with the accouterments of the theatre — pantomime, dance, music, poetry.

The Common Glory, given every summer at Williamsburg, Virginia, in a beautiful outdoor theater especially built for it, conforms in every respect to Mr. Green's own definition for "symphonic drama," for it calls into use all the attributes of the spoken word. Music and dance become germane to the action; for instance, on one occasion we read that the "people cheer him mightily . . . and the organ declares forth its accustomed welcoming flourish." It is as if the organ itself were a character in the story.

Historically the drama is concerned with six years in the life of Thomas Jefferson, during that time when he was a familiar figure on the streets of Williamsburg. Jefferson is shown as a member of the Continental Congress and the Virginia House of Burgesses and finally as Governor. Though the play is primarily the struggle of one man, he is clearly the symbol of American freedom and equality, and the effort to transmit those ideals into reality. Others have prominent roles: for historical authenticity, Franklin, Adams, and Patrick Henry; for pathos, Patsy Jefferson, the governor's dying wife; for love interest, Hugh Taylor, a patriot, and Eileen Gordon, the daughter of a Tory; and for humor, that delightful but fictitious thief and coward, Cephus Sicklemore.

Beyond the form and materials is the function of the dramatist. *The Common Glory* is not simply entertainment or historical instruction. Again Paul Green is reminding us of "the American dream"—the ideals which prompted it, the struggles which won it, and the endeavors which we must make to keep it alive.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and a History of His Brigade. By William Dobein James. (Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Co., 1948. Pp. vii, 181. Appendix. $6.00.)

In 1821 the South Carolina judge, William D. James, published this biography of his former commander, "the Swamp Fox." The book had a very limited circulation — scarcely a

fraction as much as an earlier volume about Marion written by that arch truth-twister, Parson Weems. The Weems volume went through scores of editions, thus disseminating and multiplying the Weems falsehoods throughout the land.

James began his work by viewing the first settlement of Huguenots on the Santee where settled the ancestors of Marion. Surprisingly few lines are concerned with tired genealogy, and soon the reader is in the midst of the Southern campaigns of the American Revolution. Relying on his own memory in part, James also made use of much source material which had been preserved by Marion's friends and relatives.

The bulk of the study is devoted to a history of Marion's brigade from June 1789, until it was disbanded in December 1782. A thirty-nine page appendix contains copies of letters written by many of the military characters of the time, primarily Generals Greene and Marion.

Judge James's book, something of a collector's item for many decades, has been reprinted with a short introduction by South Carolina's state historian, A. S. Salley. Outside of these four pages of introductory material, the publication is simply a reprint and offers no new material.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

Frederick Douglass. By Benjamin Quarles. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1948. Pp. xi, 378. Bibliography, Appendix, Index. $4.00.)

This biography of Douglass is the first to be written by a scholar trained in modern research methods, and it reveals a distinct superiority over the previous works on Douglass.

Professor Quarles, a member of the history department of Dillard University, New Orleans, selected a subject whose career was as varied as it was extensive and influential—a career full of the theme of "up from slavery" to the position of being the outstanding Negro of the slavery era.

Making use of the best of sources, the author does full justice to the remarkable career of Douglass but does not allow himself to lose a sense of objectivity when evaluating that career.

Douglass, being a very active human being, was not infallible, and Mr. Quarles does not hesitate to call attention to errors in judgment and action of his subject.

The volume contains several appropriate illustrations, suitable bibliography and index, and is well documented throughout.

Mr. Quarles has rendered a genuine service in the field of American history and biography.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

Francis Lieber. By Frank Freidel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. 445. $4.50.)

Of all the intellectuals who, in their flight from reaction, were bequeathed to the United States by the upheavals and turmoils of nineteenth-century Europe, Francis Lieber was surely one of the most interesting, versatile, and important. A fugitive from Prussian persecution, he came to the United States in 1827, having already experienced wounds at Waterloo, imprisonment in Prussia, a Ph.D. at Jena, and enlistment in behalf of Greek independence. He was, in the words of his friend, the historian Barthold Niebuhr, "one of the youths of the noble period . . . who lost themselves in visions, the elements of which they drew from their own hearts; and this terrible contrast between his experience and all that he had imagined — all that impelled him into distant lands, has broken his heart." He brought with him to Boston an ardent liberalism, an earnest nationalism, and an emotional nature which made it difficult for him to avoid controversy. His career in America was distinguished by its variety and by a certain intellectual eclecticism which made for him a reputation as a veritable behemoth of a scholar.

In the United States Lieber first became known as an encyclopedist who edited the *Americana*, but he is perhaps best known as professor of history and political economy at South Carolina College (1835-1857), as professor in Columbia College in New York (1857-1872), and as a publicist.

The period of more than twenty years spent in the South is of more than usual interest in Lieber's career. He went to South

Carolina College because that professorship was the only position he could get, and he went with a heavy heart, persuaded that it amounted to exile. Within a fortnight after his arrival he sounded an indictment of the South which he would never rescind: "Everything is arid here; arid soil, arid life, arid society; nor a breath of scientific air, nor a spark of intellectual electricity . . . surely, forever I could not live so. . . ." Endlessly he denounced the immaturity of his restless students, the lack of intensive scholarship among his Southern friends, and the backwardness of the economic system built around slavery. The longer he remained in South Carolina the more sour he became. His particular dislikes were teaching, slavery, and Presbyterians — and he saw a great deal of all of them as long as he was at South Carolina College. Being a practical man, and having a large family to suport, he was publicly silent concerning slavery. The fact that he was an ardent free trader and at least satisfactory on religion made his position tolerable.

When Lieber went north in 1857 he reversed most of his former attitudes, evidently reveling in his release. He became a Republican, he attacked slavery, and he sacrified his principles of civil liberty on the altar of nationalism. During the war and reconstruction period this ardent nationalism enabled him — though he was the author of a notable treatise on *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* — to support Lincoln in his *habeas corpus* struggle and to keep pace with his friend Charles Sumner in all matters of Radical Reconstruction. The death of his son Oscar while in Confederate service only added to the bitterness of the old father toward the South.

As a publicist Lieber's career was of undoubted distinction. His works on *Political Ethics* and on *Civil Liberty and Self-Government,* to mention only the two which were most outstanding, mark him as a thoughtful and scholarly philosopher concerning matters of political science. His *Basic Code For the Rules of War,* done at the request of General Halleck, and his work for Secretary Stanton as Chief of the Bureau of Rebel Archives were equally notable achievements. In addition, there were numerous writings on such varied subjects as penology, free trade, statistics, and international law. There was scarcely an idea current in nineteenth-century Europe or America that

escaped the energetic attention of Lieber's fertile mind and discursive pen.

Freidel's book on Lieber is a fine biography. No student of Lieber's career will need to look further than this book for satisfactory accounts of the events of his life. The account is based on the fruits of extensive research into materials not available to older biographers such as Perry and Harley. Large manuscript collections in the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Johns Hopkins University Library, together with collections of lesser importance at Columbia, Harvard, and the Library of Congress, form the bases for this new evaluation. Nothing more is needed in order to understand the life of the subject.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said in regard to Lieber's thought. The student of ideas who wishes to discover the essence of Lieber's political theories and to decide what is valid in his thought must still read Lieber himself. This is no easy task, for his style is heavy and his prolixity is notorious. But there is still reward in the work of this Prussian intellectual who came to love America, and Mr. Freidel has given the student of intellectual history an admirable setting in which to attempt his evaluation of such a fertile mind. The life of Francis Lieber has been adequately written; the life of Lieber's mind remains to be done.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Rebel Raider, Being An Account of Raphael Semmes's Cruise in the C.S.S. Sumter. Composed in large part of extracts from Semmes's *Memoirs of Service Afloat,* written in the year 1869, selected and supplemented by Harpur Allen Gosnell, Lieutenant-Commander, U.S.N.R. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 204. Illustrations, appendices, and index. $3.75.)

Raphael Semmes was one of the enigmatic figures of his age. To Southerners he was a hero whose daring raids and determined leadership as commander of the *Sumter* and the more famous *Alabama* promised to drive Yankee commerce from the high seas. To Northern newspaper readers he was a devil incarnate who inflicted needless torture on captives after burning the ships which had given them an honest livelihood. To his ship-

mates he was an austere and somewhat grim chief who had only one close associate and no confidents. Seemingly, no one of them ever attempted any explanation of the title, "Old Beeswax," bestowed upon him by the members of his crew, who were alternately outraged by his harshness and awed by his sincere solicitude for their welfare. Yet the historian finds him in his *Memoirs of Service Afloat, During the War between the States* (Baltimore, 1869) as garrulous as an old woman and extremely human in his petty vanities.

Rebel Raider is somewhat less in volume and slightly more in total subject-matter than Semmes's own account of the exploits of the *Sumter*. This first of the eight or nine important Confederate raiders was transformed into a reasonable approximation of a man-of-war in the harbor of New Orleans during the spring of 1861. The period of her active service as a raider was from June 30, 1861, until January 18, 1862. On the latter date she limped into the port of Gibraltar, too far spent to risk a race with her pursuers, the *Kearsarge* and the *Tuscarora*, and certainly in no condition to challenge them to a fight as later occurred in the case of *Alabama* against the *Kearsarge*. Semmes accounted for eighteen vessels captured by the *Sumter*. Of these seven were burned, seven were returned to their owners by neutral authorities, one escaped, one was recaptured, and two were released on ransom bonds. In each case, Semmes carefully considered every angle of international law and the recognized rights of neutrals and belligerents. Though he was well informed on these matters his decisions were based on the assumption that the Confederate government was to be considered as the sovereign agent of a full-fledged national state. Naturally this meant that his decisions were always wrong from the standpoint of Yankee skippers and subject to serious question by neutral port and diplomatic authorities. In general, it seems that British colonial authorities were more liberal in their treatment of Semmes than was the official policy of their government. Latin-American, Spanish, and French authorities varied from laxity that was virtual violation of neutrality to personal obstinacy that called forth Semmes's best efforts at legal sophistry and vituperation.

The editor's best work is the reduction of the original account in the *Memoirs* to a straightforward narrative with the emphasis always on action rather than on legal controversy or personal reflections by the author. There are occasional explanations of purely nautical terms, so that a landlubber such as the present reviewer is able to grasp the essential details of the narrative. Points of international law and comity are handled by bracketed insertions which peremptorily deny the validity of those acts and decisions regarded by the editor as erroneous. There are short treatments of Semmes's life before and after the Civil War. These present a fair estimate of Semmes's place in naval history, though hardly sufficient to counteract his own exaggerated opinion that the *Sumter* had single-handedly cleared the seas of American borne commerce. The entire editorial contribution to the work could have been improved by more careful proof-reading with a view to eliminating common errors in spelling and sentence structure.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, North Carolina.

Joseph Benson Foraker, An Uncompromising Republican. By Everett Walters. (Columbus: The Ohio History Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 315. Illustrations. $3.50.)

Professor Walters' study is the first volume of the Ohio Governors Series being issued by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The biography's subtitle serves as a key to an understanding of Foraker (1846-1917). His noteworthy accomplishments and traits were: to advance himself by bargaining and oratory in the rough-and-tumble of a machine-ridden state; to use his positions as governor (1886-1890) and United States Senator (1897-1909) to help strengthen *laissez-faire* and imperialistic policies of his party; to become a millionaire through activities as a corporation lawyer and lobbyist; and to stick to his conservative convictions and business connections, including that with the Standard Oil Company, even when confronted with damaging documentary evidence (forged in part by William Randolph Hearst) against his personal integrity. His

greatest mistake politically was refusal to coöperate consistently with other Ohio bosses in their efforts to nominate John Sherman for the presidency in 1888. Foraker himself aspired to the presidency; and he continued to seek a nomination. Instead he became involved, because of his ambition, in a bitter intra-party fight with more adroit politicians such as Mark Hanna, William McKinley, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt. They never forgot what they considered his duplicity in 1888. His most outstanding accomplishment was to remain actively in politics until Roosevelt and Taft read him out of office in 1908-1909.

Graduate students and professors who plan to write biographies of controversial political figures may wish to use Walters's approach as a model. His study offers a smooth chronological organization, two pertinent illustrations, a bibliography (partially annotated), an index, and close scrutiny of printing details. He strives neither to praise nor to damn his subject, but portrays him as a product of a Northern society marked by industrialism and growing imperialism and of a state that possessed more than its share of machine politics. In the first half of the book Foraker is placed in the "bloody shirt" era of Ohio and sectional politics; afterwards he is depicted as a national figure. The author's work is straight-forward, unbiased, workmanlike, scholarly, and heavily documented. The subject is important. Readers may, with pleasure, form their own conclusions about Foraker both as a state officeholder and as one of the makers of important national policies in a period when the United States first became a powerful force in international affairs.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Ala.

The Whig Party in Georgia, 1825-1853. By Paul Murray. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, vol. XXIX. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 219.)

The history of Georgia's Whig party embraces four periods. The first began near the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century and ended in 1833. The second period lasted about

seven years, ending in 1840. Approximately a decade, that of the forties, is encompassed by the third period. The early fifties brought asphyxiation to Whiggery on both the national and local levels. Within this chronological pattern Mr. Murray presents the evolution of party organization, programs, and dogma. Georgia's Troup-State Rights-Whig party, he believes, hammered out on the level of party dogma a neat trilogy: "the relation of government to economic activity, the relation of government to the individual citizen, and the relation of the Federal government to the states of the Union." A multiplicity of forces, such as local issues, personal followings, and economic considerations, are carefully appraised. Mr. Murray holds that Georgia's semi-frontier character precluded an intelligent appraisement of "statesman-like qualities" in a candidate. Whig candidates, he asserts, were generally the more "statesman-like."

A political party is a subject of many dimensions. Human affairs are so interrelated that indeed the history of one party becomes in fact the history of the contemporary party or parties. Mr. Murray has recognized this aspect of his problem in giving to the Democratic party the attention it would seem to merit. Of the eight chapters in this work the final one, a summary interpretation, is especially noteworthy for certain of its generalizations. Among the best of these is the following: "Slave-holding as such was nowhere the economic basis for political cleavage, but the hope of prosperity by means of a political program founded on exploitation of natural resources by slave labor was the fatal mirage which lured more than one political party to its doom." It might be added that this chapter would be more readable if the narrative were not so uneven. Such a study lends itself to chronological treatment. While Mr. Murray has applied such treatment, yet too frequently he compels the reader, especially in the final chapter, to return with him for another look.

A few questions in respect to some of Mr. Murray's opinions might be raised. This reviewer would like to know *why* Whig leaders "did not initiate a single act in these commonly accepted fields of nineteenth century social legislation." Moreover, if these leaders "opposed every specific proposal offered by their opponents," can it be said that they "staked the existence of their party on the intelligence and patriotism of their fellow-citizens

and lost to those who appealed to prejudice and took advantage of ignorance of voters in Georgia?" By refusing to support public education were not Whigs partly to blame for the ignorance? Further, is it assumable that no "specific proposal" offered by Whig opponents was either intelligent or patriotic? If the Democratic party was in 1832 "an irresponsible majority drunk with power in the state and the Union," can it be demonstrated that Georgia and the Union would have fared better under Whig rule? Finally, which Whig editors of 1850 were "always a little more cognizant of principles than the usual run of political leaders?"

Mr. Murray has done a solid piece of research, using for the most part Georgia newspapers. There appears one minor slip in the handling of the *Athens Banner*. It is not correct to say the Democrats nominated Hershel V. Johnson for governor in 1853 as a result of pressure from this journal and then attribute Johnson's poor showing in north Georgia to the support it gave to his opponent, Charles J. Jenkins. This journal changed editors in May, 1853, about a month before Johnson's nomination. The new editor, James Sledge, brought the paper in line with Governor Howell Cobb, who supported Johnson's candidacy. Hopkins Holsey, who edited the paper before Sledge, had been a strong Unionist in 1850. He and Cobb broke over the governor's effort to settle his differences with the Democratic organization. The book is virtually free of typographical blemishes. It is well documented and contains both a bibliography and an index.

Horace Montgomery.

University of Georgia,
Athens, Ga.

A Constitutional History of Georgia. By Albert Berry Saye. (Athens: Georgia. University of Georgia Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 521. $4.50.)

In this book, Professor Albert Berry Saye of the University of Georgia attempts the rather large task of relating the constitutional history of Georgia from the charter of 1732 down to the present day. Since the Declaration of Independence, Georgia has had eight constitutions. Moreover, there has been a staggering prodigality of amendment. The constitution of 1877, for example, was amended 303 times before finally yielding to the new document of 1945 which incorporated a good portion of the amendments. Nor, if we may trust the author, is any respite likely. His

final word is that "it takes no sage to see that further revisions in Georgia's Constitution of 1945 are needed!"

The constitution of 1798 is identified by Professor Saye as the "basic document" in Georgia's political development. Its influence has persisted through all the subsequent welter of revision and amendment. In its provision for universal manhood suffrage, this constitution was in advance of its time. Otherwise it faithfully reflected the dominant political ideas of the day and the recent political experience. While giving the governor a veto, it commanded a strict separation of powers. The legislature was clearly conceived of as the most powerful branch of the government, but with the Yazoo frauds freshly in mind, limits were set to its authority. The fundamental freedoms were guaranteed and the importation of slaves forbidden.

For the greater part of his book, Professor Saye has enriched his discussion of the various constitutional provisions with related social, economic, and biographical data. He has an excellent account, based on many original sources, of the colonial period. He goes to some pains to refute the "legend" that the colony was established as a refuge for imprisoned debtors. Of more contemporary importance is his demonstration of the acceptance in Georgia during the Revolution of the theory that sovereignty passed directly from the crown to the Union of the states, and not to the states individually.[1] There is also a necessarily sketchy, but adequate, account of the growth of political parties in Georgia.

Unfortunately, Professor Saye does not continue throughout his narrative to supply the facts which make constitutional history meaningful. The latter part of the work amounts to little more than a paraphrase of the innumerable constitutional provisions with dates of adoption supplied. Further, in his essays in political theory, the author betrays a weakness which sharply limits the value of his volume. Certainly, it is a bit far-fetched to suggest, as Professor Saye does, that the higher law notion in the doctrine of judicial review has any substantial relation to the crown's veto. Nevertheless, the book is a welcome contribution and one which, it may be hoped, will soon find a North Carolina companion.

Francis Paschal.
Wake Forest, N. C.

[1] This theory has received the sanction of the United States Supreme Court. See United States *v.* Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation, 299 U. S. 304 (1936).

The Rural Press and the New South. By Thomas D. Clark. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 111. $2.00.)

This slender volume consists of a series of three lectures (Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History) delivered by the author at Louisiana State University. In brief compass, Professor Clark, from a wealth of source material gathered for his larger work, *The Southern Country Editor*, has ably portrayed the role of the Southern rural newspaper in the life of the common man in the decades following the Civil War.

One gets the impression that most of the country editors operated on a financial shoestring with a minimum of apparatus; nonetheless, they made bold to point up the obvious needs of the community and region which they professed to serve. Without offending households gods, country editors, safely within the Democratic fold, leveled their criticism at such evils as the one-crop system, incompetent officials, "pistol-toting," and the treatment of convicts. The editor who pressed his attack too vigorously might invite a personal encounter. Such affairs were not uncommon in a region were "assault and battery" was a familiar method of settling personal difficulties.

The country editor not only pointed the way to a more diversified and rewarding economy, bolstered by good schools and good roads; he also strove to entertain his subscribers by regaling them with neighborhood gossip, folklore, and human-interest stories. The writer asserts that the editor sometimes overreached himself in predicting the early demise of some stricken fellow-citizen, or he might terrify his readers by dramatically presenting evidence that certain persons had been buried alive.

Professor Clark demonstrates that the rural press mirrored the social and political attitudes of the plain people and, by degrees, elevated public opinion to grapple more intelligently with public issues. The extent to which an editor influenced his readers (never numerous) cannot be accurately gauged. Much depended upon the individual. To most subscribers the editor was no oracle, especially when it came to giving advice about farming. Farmers, as a rule, consulted the almanac as to when to plant and when to prune and ruled out as visionary the hints of the editor.

These lectures, presented in Professor Clark's engaging style, afforded a well-rounded picture of the agrarian South from 1865 to 1918 as seen from the point of vantage of the country editor.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

Introduction to Research in American History (2nd ed.). By Homer Carey Hockett. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 141. Bibliography, index, appendix. $3.00.)

This book was written as a manual to be used by students beginning research and writing in the field of American history. It deals only with the essential procedures in that field. Experience had demonstrated that without such instructions teachers were often wearied by the "endless repetition of substantially identical directions." In the words of the author, "This manual atempts to make the path so plain that a student of capacity sufficient to earn an advanced degree may proceed with little more guidance than it affords."

The present revision of this book involves no change of purpose or text, but adds an appendix which contains additional matter suggested by classroom use of this manual but which it was not feasible to incorporate in the book. The text is divided into three chapters of almost equal length. These are appropriately entitled "The Gathering of Data," "The Criticism of Data," and "Historical Composition." The chapters are broken down into carefully selected sub-divisions. The book is filled with well chosen examples of the proper techniques to be employed in historical research and composition and sound advice is given as to how to avoid or overcome the problems involved. "It has . . . seemed wise to take nothing for granted," writes Professor Hockett, "even at the risk of stressing the obvious." A very good index makes it easy for one to use this book as a manual.

No errors have been noted in the text. The information contained in the appendix, such as a supplementary bibliography, should have been incorporated with similar information located elsewhere in the book. Some awkwardness in the use of the material will naturally result from this arrangement.

This manual should prove to be particularly helpful to those students of American history who are seeking information concerning their problems in research and composition. To those engaged in the direction of graduate work in history, it may prove to be a very valuable time-saver.

C. O. Cathey.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Paths to the Present. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. vi, 317. $4.00.)

Professor Schlesinger has accomplished what should be the culmination of the historian's career: an interpretation of the present and a warning to the future in the light of the past. If much of the material presented is not new to the members of his profession, that is as it should be. The book was not designed for those to whom the facts of history are every day fare, although they may profit by many of his conclusions. Granted the author's ideological assumptions, the evidence of experience speaks for itself. Since the reviewer agrees that the "goal of a social service state" based on free institutions is not only legitimate but essential for survival, he has found the book a timely and highly palatable tonic.

Paths to the Present is composed of theirteen essays, most of which have appeared in essence in scholarly journals, as is acknowledged in the bibliographical notes. Each chapter stands on its own premises and can be read without relation to the other twelve. The style is adult but not difficult. There is ample evidence of Mr. Schlesinger's penchant for the "classic statement" by means of quotation and, as usual, the selections are beyond cavil.

Almost every chapter ends with a precept or points a pathway to the future. For all but chapter IV, "The Tides of National Politics," the reviewer believes the evidence irrefutable. The proposition presented in this essay is at once the most intriguing and the least convincing in the book. The author discovers a rhythm of conservative and liberal periods in our past, and predicts therefrom that "we may expect the recession from liberal-

ism which began in 1947 to last till 1962. . . ." Obviously the proofing was done before Mr. Truman's recent triumph. The reviewer cannot agree that "basic pulsations of opinion are responsible for the cycles, if indeed they exist." The long period of reaction from 1869 to 1901 was certainly in part accomplished by thwarting the popular will. And that it can happen again is apparent from the succeeding chapters on "Persisting Problems of the Presidency."

For North Carolina readers the inclusion of James Knox Polk amongst the four "near great" presidents comes as a tardy recognition of merit we have long been ready to recognize. To find two others (Jackson and Wilson), who spent a considerable portion of their formative years in this state, numbered amongst the "greats" is equally gratifying. This essay, "A Yardstick for Presidents," recently was printed in brief in *Life* magazine.

Mr. Schlesinger is too able a historian to slip into errors of fact, but there is certainly room for a difference of opinion with respect to the reason ascribed for the popularity of Know-Nothingism in the South (p. 62). Surely the charm of ritual to isolated farmers, the intolerance of backwoods protestants for Catholicism, and the unacceptability of both fire-eating Democrats and antislavery Republicans to Southern conservatives were responsible for as many votes as the "dread of the political strength accruing to the free states from the European (immigrant) accessions." Nor does it seem quite fair to imply (p. 183) that the abolitionists had a claim of inconsistency against England when she issued a proclamation of neutrality in May, 1861. Emancipation was not a war issue at that early date. Mr. Schlesinger quotes *Literary Digest,* Gallup, and *Fortune* polls as gospels of public opinion. To this Democratic reviewer (admittedly prejudiced) they don't amount to a democratic thing.

Judicial, provocative, and entertaining, *Paths to the Present* should be required reading for all who claim that their feet are guided by the lamp of experience. Unfortunately, those who need it most will read it least. It is difficult to see how it could be better than it is. The reviewer's chief regret in closing the book was that Mr. Schlesinger did not himself essay the role of forecaster in his "Casting the National Horoscope." If any social

historian of the present can speak with the authority of the past, it is he.

Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Gold Star Honor Roll of Virginians in the Second World War. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Charlottesville: Virginia World War II History Commission. 1947. Pp. lxii, 373. Illustrations. Free.)

Pursuits of War, The People of Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia, in the Second World War. By Gertrude D. Parlier and others. (Charlottesville: Albemarle County Historical Society. 1948. Pp. xxiv, 430. Illustrations. $3.50.)

Two groups of World War II participants from Virginia are honored in these volumes. *Gold Star Honor Roll* lists by city or county the Virginians who gave their lives while serving in the armed forces of the United Nations, 1940-1946. The roster records name, ranking, and nearest of kin without indicating place or date of death. The index, however, lists only the deceased personnel.

Pursuits of War records in detail the wartime activity of the citizens of Charlottesville and Albemarle County. Documenting the story of the region's civil and military contributions to victory from local newspapers, official reports, and personal letters, the authors have produced a finished study of the community under the unusual stresses of war.

William S. Powell.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

The State Historical Society of Missouri—A Semicentennial History, 1898-1948. By Floyd C. Shoemaker. (Columbia, Missouri: The State Historical Society of Missouri. 1948. Pp. 193.)

This volume that tells of one state historical society reveals much that is common to all such state societies: the sense of need of a society, humble beginnings, appropriations from the state legislature, struggles against indifference of citizens, important service of individuals, triumphs in contribution to history of the state.

Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the society, and an official in all but twelve years of its history, is author of the volume that

shows us ("You've got to show me") what Missouri has done.

Mr. Shoemaker has reviewed the efforts of the states in their attempts to keep their record straight and has also given the public a fair picture of the development of the Missouri society.

He describes the origin of his society, a child born of a state convention of newspaper men. As proof he includes a picture of the delegates of the members of the Missouri Press Association attending the Eureka Springs, Arkansas, convention, May 25-27, 1898, who may truly be called founding fathers.

Local developments are described, such as acquisition of important collections, the boost of the World Fair at St. Louis, contribution of certain officers of the society, and the listing of an honorary member named Harry S. Truman.

Officers and members of our state historical societies will do well to read Mr. Shoemaker's book and make a new survey of the field.

Douglas L. Rights.

Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mannerhouse. By Thomas Wolfe. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1948. Pp. 183. $3.00.)

Mannerhouse, written by Wolfe about 1926, is a play of the Civil War period in a prologue and three acts. It has been taken from the mass of manuscript left at the author's death. The prologue, laid in the year 1725, is probably anachronistic in its background of a great white-columned plantation house being built by an "endless chain of savage black" slaves in the Carolina pinehill country; but it has the most effective scene in the play in the thundering Biblical defense of slavery by a minister speaking to awed but uncomprehending blacks. Symbolism permeates the play. The noble mannerhouse of the Ramseys represents the gracious manner of life of the old South; the oppression upon which its aristocratic grandeur was built is the tragic flaw which becomes its nemesis. The first act opens in 1861; General Ramsey's son Eugene, at first cynical and rebellious, goes off to war from loyalty to a way of life which he believes is basically false. Four years later father and son return in defeat to an almost deserted mansion. In the end Eugene pulls down the

house upon himself and upon the sinister character Porter, representative of the triumphant forces of mediocrity. The influence of Shakespeare upon Wolfe is strong throughout the play, especially in the Hamlet-and-Ophelia scene between Eugene and his sweetheart. The similarity between the main character and the Eugene of *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) is seen in their common anguished sense of nostalgic loss: "O lost, and by the wind grieved, ghost, come back again."

Wolfe's novelist's nature was not adapted to the rigorous, brief, tense interplay of character needed for drama. Like Balzac, he was fascinated by the theater; however, Saintsbury's stricture on Balzac, "For him drama was always an error," may be applied to Wolfe also. He has done better as a recreator of the Civil War Period in the short story, "Chickamauga."

Wolfe comes by his interest in the Civil War period honestly, as his ancestors took an active part in it about which he heard from his mother (as has this reviewer). It is appropriate here to mention that the North Carolina Department of Archives and History has unpublished correspondence from T. C. Westall, Wolfe's maternal grandfather, to Governor Z. B. Vance in the Vance Papers (March 21, 1864) and in the Governor's Papers (November 5, 1864). In the Vance Papers Westall, writing from Swannanoa, describes the political conditions in western North Carolina, urges Vance to make "a big talk" in Buncombe, and anathematizes Holden, who "has swallowed a potion of political poison for which there is no antidote, and already his pulse has the flutterings of death." The writer has a vigor of language which presages the verbal fervor of his grandson.

W. P. Cumming.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

The Churches and the Social Conscience. By O. T. Binkley. (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press. 1948. Pp. 39. $1.00 cloth-bound, $.25 paper-bound.)

To survey the influence of the churches in social movements for human betterment and to compress the study into less than forty pages and hardly more than seven thousand words calls for maximum concentration of study and compactness of state-

ment. Scores of books have appeared in this field, and the end is not yet. One inclines, however, to the opinion that Professor Binkley's quick and lucid summary has covered the subject as completely as it can be done. In the nature of the case his essay is a consensus, not an argument; it is a generalization rather than an analysis. As such it represents a job expertly done by one wholly conversant with his subject and provides a statement that will supply the general reader with all he needs to convince him of the massive influence and the moral value of the churches in the stimulation of a social conscience and a creative action.

Edwin McNeill Poteat.

Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, an assistant professor of history at Davidson College, is teaching in the summer school at the University of Southern California.

On June 3 Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College lectured before the National Academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., on the subject, "The Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Law enforcement officers from all parts of the United States attended this school.

Miss Sarah Lemmon of Meredith College has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1949-50 in order that she may complete her courses for her doctorate at the University of North Carolina.

Miss Fannie Memory Farmer has joined the staff of the history department at Meredith College. She received her M.A. degree in history at the University of North Carolina in June, and she will tour Europe this summer.

Dr. Harold T. Parker of the department of history of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year 1949-1950 to do research in the French Archives.

Dr. Paul H. Clyde of the department of history of Duke University is visiting professor of history at Tulane University during the second term of the summer school.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of the department of history of Duke University is visiting professor at the University of North Carolina during the second term of summer school.

Mr. Richard S. Barry, a graduate student at Duke University, has been employed for the summer by the Divison of State Parks, Department of Conservation and Development, to do research in the history of Fort Macon.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan professor of history at the University of North Carolina, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures at Louisiana State University on April 26, 27, and 28. He gave two lectures at the Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville, Georgia, on May 2. During the summer he is visiting professor of history at Columbia University.

Dr. Frank W. Klingberg, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina, is teaching during the summer in the department of history, Pomona College, Claremont, California.

Dr. A. R. Newsome of the University of North Carolina is visiting professor of history at the University of Iowa during the summer.

Mr. Robert A. Lively, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an instructor in history at Princeton University.

Mr. William P. Roberts, Jr., a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at North Georgia College.

Mr. John L. Snell, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas.

Mr. Roscoe L. Strickland, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at the East Tennessee State Teachers College.

Miss Mary Frances Gyles, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed an assistant professor of history at Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall, head of the history department at State College, Raleigh, has published an article entitled, "The Advisory Opinion in North Carolina," in *The North Carolina Law Review*, XXVII (April, 1949), 297-344.

Dr. H. E. Hirsch, chairman of the department of social sciences at Elon College, is teaching during the summer in the graduate school at the University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, editor of the *Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, on April 28 addressed the Martha Pettigrew Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Forest City. Mr. Griffin's subject was "What Makes North Carolina a Great State."

The Benjamin May Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on April 29 dedicated a chapter house in Farmville. This is the second such house in the South and it will also serve as a community house for the town.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Wilmington and New Hanover County on April 18. Those going on the tour visited Airlee and Orton Plantations, Old Brunswick, Fort Johnston, Clarendon Plantation, the graves of Cornelius Harnett and Rose Greenough—the woman spy of the Confederacy—the home of Governor Edward B. Dudley, the house in which Cornwallis had his headquarters, and the old opera house built in 1825.

Members of the history faculties of several colleges and universities and staff members of the State Department of Archives and History attended a dinner at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina on May 14. Wake Forest College, Meredith College, State College, Davidson College, Greensboro College, the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and the State Department of Archives and History were represented.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Duke University on May 7. The program consisted of the following papers: "The Academy Movement in North Carolina," by Dr. Edgar W. Knight; "Queen's College, Queen's Museum, Liberty Hall, and the Salisbury Academy," by Dr. Archibald Henderson; and "Baptist Academies in North Carolina," by Dr. George W. Paschal.

Chowan College on May 13 celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Governor W. Kerr Scott delivered the principal address at the morning exercises and in the afternoon Dr. George W. Paschal of Wake Forest College delivered an address in which he gave the history of Chowan College.

Forsyth County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary May 6-14. The Bushgrower's League staged their Jamboree at Glenn's Warehouse on May 6. The Festival Symphony Orchestra gave a concert on May 11 at the Reynolds Auditorium and featured Miss Sara Holtiwanger, a native of Winston-Salem. The centennial parade was staged on May 12 after which a time capsule two feet in diameter and 4 feet long was buried on the courthouse square. This capsule was filled with mementoes of Winston-Salem in order that when Forsyth County celebrates its bicentennial these items may be dug up and exhibited. During the evening "Forsythorama" was presented at the Bowman Gray Stadium, also Verdi's "Requiem" was given at Reynolds Auditorium. The Arts and Crafts Workshop was open to the public May 9-14. A history of the county entitled *Forsyth, A County on the March* was published by the University of North Carolina Press as a part of the celebration.

Alamance County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, May 8-15. On the first day of the celebration there was a parade after which Governor W. Kerr Scott, a native of the county, delivered an address. The Alamance County Centennial exposition was held in the Carolina Warehouse and was open the entire week. A pageant, "Alamance Heritage," was given, also Bascom Lamar Lunsford's "Minstrel of the Appalachains" was presented

on Thursday and Friday, May 12 and 13. Representative Harold Cooley delivered an address on Friday, May 13. On Sunday, May 15, a joint religious service was held with Dr. Harold Bosley, Dean of the Divinity School at Duke University, delivering the sermon.

During the fiscal year which ended June 30 sixty-three new historical markers were approved for erection in the state and two old markers which had been broken were replaced. A committee of historians from Duke University, the University of North Carolina, Davidson College, State College, and Wake Forest College prepared inscriptions for these markers after the necessary research had been done by Mr. William S. Powell, researcher for the State Department of Archives and History.

At St. John's Episcopal Church in Williamsboro, Vance County, on Sunday, June 12, a committee was appointed to work out plans for restoring and maintaining the old church. St. John's, a wooden structure, was built in 1757 and has been described by Mr. Thomas T. Waterman, a specialist on colonial architecture, as "the best example of colonial church woodwork in North Carolina." In connection with this restoration movement a picnic lunch was served on the grounds and the old church was opened to the public.

Ceremonies in connection with the raising of the United States, the Confederate, and the state flags were held within the walls of Fort Macon on May 11. The A. M. Waddell Chapter of Lenoir County of the Daughters of the Confederacy were in charge of the ceremonies with Mrs. J. A. Jones presiding. Mrs. Junie Whitfield, the oldest living member of the chapter, was introduced to the gathering and Mrs. Quentin Gregory of Halifax made a brief talk. Songs popular in the Confederacy were sung by the Kinston Male Quartet. Mr. Thomas W. Morse, superintendent of State Parks, gave an historical address on Fort Macon and conducted a tour of the fort.

Mr. Frank Meecham and Mr. J. Johnson of the State Museum, Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan of the State

Department of Archives and History, and Miss Myrtle Armfield of the Greensboro Historical Museum attended the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Chicago May 19, 20, and 21.

The Hall of History of the State Department of Archives and History has received and placed on exhibit a spinning wheel and several pieces of colonial kitchen ware.

During the past few months Dr. Christopher Crittenden has delivered the following addresses on historical and allied topics: On March 1 to the Lanier Book Club, Raleigh, on the museum and its possibilities; on March 17 to the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on North Carolina's part in the War for Southern Independence; on April 26 to the Historical Book Club, Greensboro, on the historic shrines of the state; and on April 29 to the Wayne County Committee, Colonial Dames of America, on the same subject.

The Battle of Elizabethtown Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, on June 10 unveiled two historical markers, one in the town of Council, the other in Clarkton. At a luncheon following the unveilings, Dr. Christopher Crittenden delivered an address on the state's historical marker program.

On May 20 Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History delivered an address before the Lafayette Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Karl G. Hudson and the subject of the address was "Early Settlers in North Carolina."

On June 12 Moon's Chapel in Chatham County celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. Mr. J. C. Canipe, a former pastor of the church, delivered the morning sermon after which a picnic lunch was served on the grounds. In the afternoon greetings from other churches and former pastors were presented, after which Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History delivered an historical address.

The General Assembly of North Carolina which convened in January appropriated for the State Department of Archives and History for the biennium beginning July 1, 1949 the following: For the year July 1, 1949, to June 30, 1950—$67,361, and for the year July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1951—$82,295.

The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress has received the following manuscripts:

The papers of the late General "Billy" Mitchell, commander in World War I of United States aviation in France and subsequently director of military aviation in the United States Army, which include his personal files as Assistant Chief of the Air Service, his diaries during World War I and later correspondence, and manuscripts of his books and articles on various aspects of aviation; the papers of the late Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the University of Chicago, which consist mainly of professional and personal correspondence from about 1902, when she began her distinguished career as a teacher of public welfare administration at the University of Chicago, to the time of her death in 1948, and include material on her trip to Montevideo in 1933 as United States delegate to the Congress of the Pan-American Union and on other similar assignments and correspondence with James Adams, Katharine Lenroot, Mary Anderson, and other leaders in civic and philanthropic work; the papers of Thomas Allen Jenckes (1818-1875), noted patent attorney and member of Congress from Rhode Island from 1863 to 1871, which include his extensive files as counsel in important patent litigation on rubber, refrigeration, and the steam engine, a group of papers relating to the Credit Mobilier investigation, and business letters received by him during the last twenty years of his life; stenographic reports of the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, July 4-5, 1924, which nominated Senator Robert M. LaFollette for President, and of the post-campaign convention held in Chicago on February 21 and 22, 1925; and a manuscript journal kept by Edward T. Tayloe while acting as secretary to Joel R. Poinsett in Mexico from 1825 to 1828, which contains descriptions of places visited, information about mining districts, and comments on the social and economic life of the country.

Books received include Albert Berry Saye, *A Constitutional History of Georgia 1732-1945* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948); Frank L. Owsley, Oliver P. Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1948); Maurice Bear Gordon, M.D., *Aesculapius Comes to the Colonies, The Story of the Early Days of Medicine in the Thirteen Original Colonies* (Ventnor, New Jersey; Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1949); Thomas H. Greer, *American Social Reform Movements, Their Pattern Since 1865* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949); Sister Mary Anthonita Hess, *American Tobacco and Central European Policy: A Dissertation. Early Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948); William Bell Clark, *Captain Dauntless, The Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Chalmers G. Davidson, *Cloud Over Catawba* (Charlotte, N. C.: The Mecklenburg Historical Society, 1949); Harvey Walker, *Constructive Government in Ohio. The Story of the Administration of Governor Myers Y. Cooper, 1929-1930* (Columbus: The Ohio History Press, 1948); Rupert B. Vance, John E. Ivey, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond, *Exporing The South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida's Flagler* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1949); Adelaide L. Fries, Mary Callum Wiley, Douglas L. Rights, Harvey Dinkins, Charles N. Siewers, Flora Ann Lee, *Forsyth, A County on the March* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1947-1948* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949); Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington,* Volume I and Volume II *Young Washington* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948); *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); H. Allen Gosnell, *Guns on the Western Waters: The Story of River Gunboats in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Weymouth T. Jordan, *Hugh Davis and His Alabama Plantation* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1948); *Humanistic Schol-*

arship in the South, A Survey of Work in Progress (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) ; Homer Carey Hockett, *Introduction to Research in American History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948) ; Everett Walters, *Joseph Benson Foraker, An Uncompromising Republican* (Columbus: The Ohio History Press, 1948) ; Bill McIlwain and Walt Friedenberg, *Legends of Baptist Hollow* (Wake Forest, N. C.: Delta Publishing Company, 1949) ; Norma B. Cuthbreth, *Lincoln and The Baltimore Plot, 1861, from Pinkerton Records and Related Papers* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1949) ; Thomas Wolfe, *Mannerhouse A Play in Prologue and Three Acts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948) ; Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde, *Michigan and the Cleveland Era* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1948) ; *Ninth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 1947-1948* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1949) ; John Drury, *Old Illinois Houses* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1948) ; Gilbert Courtland Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prarie Statesman.* Vol. XXII, *The University of Missouri Studies,* no. 2. (Columbia: The University of Missouri, 1948) ; Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949) ; Thomas D. Clark, *The Rural Press and the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948) ; Floyd C. Shoemaker, *The State Historical Society of Missouri: A Semicentennial History, 1898-1948* (Columbia: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1948) ; George I. Oeste, *Teaching Local History in Today's World* (Philadelphia: Middle States Council for the Social Studies) ; James Hart, *The American Presidency in Action, 1789* (New York: The Macmillan Company) ; Wesley Frank Craven, *The Army Air Forces in World War II, Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942.* Vol. I (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948) ; O. T. Brinkely, *The Churches and the Social Conscience* (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1948) ; Paul Green, *The Common Glory* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948) ; John Hardin, *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Carolina Mystery Stories* (Chapel Hill: The

University of North Carolina Press, 1949); James Etheridge Callaway, *The Early Settlement of Georgia* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1948); Roy Bird Cook, *The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson* (Charleston, West Virginia: Department of Archives and History, 1948); Robert A. Lively, *The South in Action. A Sectional Crusade Against Freight Rate Discrimination* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund For Southern History of the University of Texas, 1949); Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco In America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Illinois 1809-1814,* Volume XVI (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948); Paul Murray, *The Whig Party in Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Phillips Russell, *The Woman Who Rang the Bell. The Story of Cornelia Phillips Spencer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949); Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949).

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AS THE TWIG IS BENT: THE FAMILY AND THE NORTH CAROLINA YEARS OF THOMAS HART BENTON, 1752-1801

By WILLIAM N. CHAMBERS

I

For the nearly forty years of his national political career, the name of Senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858) was famous among Americans. His contemporaries thought him the peer of Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster,[1] and he commanded more admiration than a number of Presidents. Before he died, he wrote two bulky volumes about his work and his times. The national Democratic newspaper of his day said in an obituary that his doings were as familiar to the country as household words.[2] He deserved renown, and he had it.

Yet his origins were little known to his contemporaries, and they are less known today. He was born in central North Carolina—but what sort of people were his parents? What was their status in the community, and how did this influence the growing boy? What sort of up-bringing did he receive? What significant events marked his formative years? All these early influences which go so far to make a man have remained obscure, and his biographers have done little to clarify matters. They have either romanticized his early life, have so mixed fact and legend as to make the pattern unintelligible, or have glossed over it.[3]

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[1] Compare W. V. N. Bay, *Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1878), 3-4; John Wentworth, *Congressional Reminiscences, Adams, Benton, Calhoun, Clay and Webster* (Chicago, 1882), 16; Daniel M. Grissom, "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Missourians," *Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII (January, 1924), 129.

[2] Washington *Daily Union*, April 11, 1858.

[3] Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton* (Boston, 1899); William M. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1904); Joseph M. Rogers, *Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1905).

II

The cobblestones with which Lord Cornwallis had paved the muddy streets of Hillsborough, North Carolina, had been there less than a year when Thomas Hart Benton was born near that village. It was March 14, 1782,[4] and there was already a dash of spring in the Piedmont air. The boy's parents were Jesse Benton, lawyer, and his Virginia-born wife, Ann Gooch Benton, whose husband always called her Nancy. The black-shocked, lusty infant with the over-sized head was the Bentons' third child.[5] But he was the first son and his mother's favorite from the moment of his birth up to her death.

The house in which young Thomas was born lay on the right bank of the Eno River about three miles west of Hillsborough. Here the Bentons had a little plantation, 174 acres,[6] which rose from the rushing, rock-choked stream and merged into the dark mass of the woods.[7] All around were the undulating hills which marked the beginning of the Piedmont, and far to the west beyond the Occoneechee Mountains lay the great Blue Ridge itself. The Eno ran through a pleasant, fertile valley then, with great trees overhanging the stream and rhododenron dotting the landscape with pink and white flowers.[8] The land was a rich red clay, with black soil in the bottoms.

The village itself was nearly thirty years old when Thomas was born. It was a thriving spot, which was the commercial center of the central region—named by Governor William Tryon after the Earl of Hillsborough. There were about 300 men, women, and children there, nearly a quarter of them Negro slaves.[9] By Revolutionary times, it was the southwestern terminus of the long road that ran down from Boston, through Baltimore and Richmond.[10]

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[4] Thomas H. Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," in *Thirty Years View, or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1883), I, p. i.

[5] Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, April 3, 1786, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress, Washington.

[6] Compare An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for the Year 1781, in Jesse Benton Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. In this document, the plot on the Eno is given a greater value—£1218—than other larger holdings, which suggests that it was improved, and thus the family homestead. Local tradition around Hillsboro, as outlined to me by Mr. E. M. Lynch, clerk of the superior court, also assigns this spot as the Thomas H. Benton birthplace. It seems unlikely that the Bentons owned or lived at Hart's Mill, across the river, earlier than the *end* of 1782 or the first part of 1783.

[7] Alfred Waddell Moore, *Some Memories of My Life* (Raleigh, 1908), 8.

[8] Francis Nash, *Hillsboro: Colonial and Revolutionary* (Raleigh, 1903), 5-6.

[9] Nash, *Hillsboro*, 89.

[10] James Truslow Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), plate 55.

It was wonderful country, the North Carolina Piedmont, and the infant Benton "belonged" in it. His very name bespoke his roots in the life and tradition of the middle section. He was christened by his Episcopalian parents[11] after a leader in the community, his uncle Colonel Thomas Hart, gentleman, land speculator, and his mother's guardian and protector since her girlhood.[12] In addition his direct ancestors were prominent men in the central region, and the boy grew into manhood with the consciousness that his grandfather and his father too were men of mark in their own community.[13]

The grandfather, Samuel Benton, Esquire, had been an early settler in the Piedmont. He came, not up from the rich Tidewater plantation country to the east, but down from Virginia to the north, part of the current of vigorous English and Scotch-Irish settlers that swept into the province in the middle 1700s.[14] He had the touch of Midas in him, and he worked steadily at the business of establishing a fortune and status for himself and his family.

By 1752 Samuel gloried in the office of justice of the peace for Granville County.[15] This was an important post in a huge area which covered most of the then-central part of the province of North Carolina. Under the reign of King George the Second, the North Carolina colonial JPs were the little lords of the neighborhood. They not only judged minor cases at law, but they administered the affairs of the county, had a hand in setting tax rates, managed the roads, ferries, and the construction of public buildings, and indirectly dispensed lucrative patronage in the sheriffs' and court offices. A JP's job was a source of profit, and in addition the JPs were at the center of the then-ruling political squirearchy.[16]

To be sure, Samuel Benton's career was not an uninterrupted success story. A reappointment as justice in July, 1756, found

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[11] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[12] Benton, "Autobiographical Sketch," p. i.
[13] Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 57, 77, 98, 118, ff.
[14] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New* (Chicago, 1941), II, 40.
[15] William K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (January, 1926), 54.
[16] Nannie May Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVIII (October, 1941), 340, 342.

him in gaol, where he felt it necessary to refuse a job.[17] His offense was, presumably, debt.[18]

But this mischance seemed merely to stiffen the man with greater determination, for by 1760 he was restored to his place as a justice of the peace. In addition, he was elected a member of the provincial assembly and was seated—even though that body thought the sheriff of Granville had come close to fraud when he summed up the returns.[19] From that year on it was up, up, up for Samuel. Soon he was both clerk of superior court and register of deeds for Granville County,[20] jobs which paid wonderfully well and gave a man opportunities on the side. At the same time, he established himself as a landed gentleman on a large plantation in the western part of the county.[21]

In a few short years, Thomas Benton's grandfather was a powerful factor in the politics of colonial Granville, smiled on by the royal governor, active in the assembly, and boss of the courthouse ring.[22]

In the legislature, assemblyman-clerk-register Samuel Benton's activity was largely in his own self-interest. This was nothing unusual, for the colonial legislators generally managed to turn their positions to advantage in land speculations or other business affairs. Samuel's great coup came in 1764, when he brought in a bill to divide Granville County and set up a new county seat in the part in which he lived. With a little log-rolling, he got the measure passed,[23] and a commission established to get the job done, with its head man turning out to be assemblyman Samuel Benton. The commission was given broad authority. It was to receive the proceeds of a special tax and was to contract with workmen to build a courthouse, prison, pillory, and stocks.[24] It promptly selected for the new town a plot called Oxford, which happened to belong to Commissioner Samuel Benton. At one neat stroke Samuel inflated the value of his land and assured himself sales to the county and to the horde of tradesmen, law-

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[17] William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 591.
[18] Compare George Sims, "An Address to the People of Granville County," June 6, 1765, *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (January, 1926), 62.
[19] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 343, 399, 405.
[20] Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 342.
[21] Will of Samuel Benton, February 18, 1770, proved April term, 1770, in Wills, 1746-1771, Granville County, North Carolina, Oxford.
[22] Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 353, 357.
[23] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1157-1158.
[24] Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIII, 626, 627.

yers and officials who were bound to settle at the new court town.[25]

Meanwhile he was making a good thing out of his posts as clerk of superior court and register of deeds. Everyone with legal business had to come to the new courthouse on Samuel Benton's estate, and once there they had to pay Samuel Benton a fee, usually large, to get their work done.[26]

This sort of thing did not pass without protest. The angry, aggrieved common folk of the back country resented the excessive and irregular fees they were charged by the courthouse rings, they resented the overbearing conduct of the aristocracy of land and political pull, they resented the little deals their betters arranged among themselves. Soon a movement of revenge swept the central counties—"The Regulation."[27] Of Samuel Benton's fellow-assemblyman and friend Edmund Fanning of Orange County,[28] the Regulators sang—

> When Fanning first to Orange came,
> Both man and mare warn't worth five pounds,
> As I've been often told.
> But by his civil robberies
> He's laced his coat with gold.

The charges against Thomas's grandfather were more specific. A Regulation spokesman noted that when he was taken out of debtor's prison, "or what was next door to it," and sent to the assembly, he was expected to be "a poor man's Burgess"—but in fact, all his acts there had been "for that dear self of his." As clerk Benton, he was little more than a "pick-pocket." For entering a bond on the "doquet," for "the work of one long minute," he charged whatever fee he pleased. He then added insult by offering the poor man before him a chance to pay by a month's labor on his Oxford plantation! He maneuvered in the assembly, he built the courthouse for Granville, he traded on his offices, all to bring grist to his own mill.[29]

Before long the enraged Regulators took up clubs, sticks, and guns to enforce their demands for fair play. The new royal

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[25] Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 350.
[26] Sims, "Address to the People of Granville County," 63.
[27] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 207-223.
[28] Compare Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 300, 326, 327.
[29] Sims, "Address to the People of Granville County," 62-65.

governor, William Tryon, called a council of war at Camp Hillsborough in September, 1768, to "keep the peace"—and among the officers present was one Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Benton. The council soon agreed on a plan. The Regulators must lay down their arms, pay their taxes, and deliver nine of their leaders to be dealt with according to law—whereupon pardon would follow for the rest.[30]

This settled the matter for the moment[31] and well-to-do men like Samuel, Edmund Fanning, and the rest could sleep again nights, though they never really rested until six of the Regulator leaders were hanged.

But he was not all land grabber and political jobber, assemblyman-clerk-colonel Samuel Benton Esquire. He had a moral sense, at least when it came to matters like "excessive and Deceitful Gaming," and he introduced a bill in the assembly to prevent such dastardly goings-on.[32] And he was not only a man of property, he was a man of culture too. He had a library widely known as one of the best in the whole wide reach of Granville County,[33] and he paid at least a verbal tribute to learning when he named his plantation Oxford.[34]

This was Thomas Benton's grandfather—"Gent.," a *stupor mundi* of local politics and personal aggrandizement, political boss, conservative, cultured, not too scrupulous, but moral as morality ran in the place and time, and above all able, sure, and successful.

By his wife Frances, Samuel Benton had three sons whom he named Jesse, Samuel Junior, and Augustine. When he died in 1770 he left his wife and his children a considerable estate, making Jesse, as the oldest, executor but leaving the bulk of land and slaves to young Samuel for the family's use. Jesse received a

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[30] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 842.
[31] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 223.
[32] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 817.
[33] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 522.
[34] His neighbors believed that Samuel Benton had been educated at Oxford, England, and certainly the name he gave his plantation lent credence to this idea. (Compare Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 522.) But a careful investigation of the records at Oxford fails to show that any Samuel Benton ever matriculated there, though a Joseph Benton and a Thomas Benton, sons of Samuel Benton of Kings Norton, County Worcester, England, did attend the University about 1720 (letter from William Reaves to writer, Oxford, July 22, 1948). In addition, the University Registry states that no Samuel Benton appears on the Registrar's books (letter from C. H. Paterson, Assistant Registrar, to writer, Oxford University, May 29, 1948). Anyone is welcome to speculate that Samuel of North Carolina was the grandson of Samuel of Kings Norton through either Joseph or Thomas—but it is only a possibility and no more.

special bequest of Samuel's case of pistols and ten pounds to buy a sword.[35]

Old Samuel Benton had built well, and his family was secure and respected. If his son Jesse was not the father's equal in piling pound on pound, he was still no ne'er-do-well and was perhaps Samuel's superior at the early American game of piling acre on acre.

Shortly after his father's death, Jesse was at Hillsborough in Orange County, where he found a revived Regulator movement haunting the homes of the well-to-do. As a man of property and position, Jesse had no more sympathy with this protesting, democratic movement than his father had had, and he promptly signed up with an opposing group of "Redressors." The Regulation was subversive, according to the Redressors, and showed "a spirit of licentiousness sedition & Riot," abhorrent to all "true & faithful subjects of our Sovereign Lord King George the third." The Redressors included Edmund Fanning of the gold-laced coat, Thomas Hart, Thomas Henderson, and fifty-seven others.[36]

Still the protestors were not cowed. They had practically taken over the Orange courthouse at the trial of their leaders under Judge Richard Henderson in September, and they had beaten up a number of their favorite enemies in Hillsborough including Thomas Hart.[37] No manifesto would subdue them, and they were not finally put down until Governor Tryon brought up troops at Alamance in 1771.[38]

Though Jesse fought the Regulation, he was not an aggressive man, and he never tried to make as much of a public career as Samuel had done. When his father died, he inherited the post of register for Granville County,[39] which he worked for what it was worth at least a few years, while at the same time he managed to handle the clerkship of Surry County.[40] But he looked to his offices merely for a steady income, and turned in other directions to improve his position and that of his family. He was a lawyer, and an able one who worked steadily at his profession and took pride in it.[41] His great field, though, was

[35] Will of Samuel Benton, February 18, 1770, in Wills, Granville County, North Carolina.
[36] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 273-274.
[37] Nash, *Hillsboro*, 15-16.
[38] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 240-241.
[39] Tilley, "Political Disturbances in Colonial Granville County," 352.
[40] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 298.
[41] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

speculating in land, particularly in the far-western part of the province in what later became Tennessee.

His first venture was as a partner in the Transylvania Company. Jesse put in what cash and talents he had, along with the Richard Henderson who had presided at the Regulator trial, Thomas Hart, Charles Robertson, and one Daniel Boone. The Transylvania was one of many land companies that appeared in the wake of colonial rule. These companies were designed to make fortunes for their leaders, but at the same time they played a big part in exploring the West, surveying the unknown Indian country beyond the mountains, and taking colonies of settlers into the new land. If the great patrons were not exactly pioneers themselves, they at least stood behind the "goers" who actually settled beyond the frontier.[42]

The great exploit of the Transylvania Company was the Watauga Purchase. In 1775 a group including Jesse Benton set out from the Piedmont toward Sycamore Shoals, in the wild mountain country, on a stream whose waters flowed finally into the Tennessee and then down the Mississippi. No adventure-lover, Jesse went out of a determination to provide for his family. In the middle of March the travellers met O-con-os-to-ta, chief warrior and first representative of the Cherokee Nation, and other feathered and painted Indian chiefs. The necessary ceremonies were observed, Jesse Benton read a legal paper to the assembled warriors, and the Carolinians purchased for two thousand pounds, "lawful money of Great Britain," a vast, rich, untouched empire of fertile western land.[43] The tract included the whole of the Cumberland River Valley west of Cumberland Gap in what later became Tennessee, and about two-thirds of what became Kentucky.[44]

At the end of 1775, Jesse Benton was in the West again—he had interests on the Green River in Kentucky as well as on the Cumberland.[45] He went with a company of Transylvanians through the winding narrows of the Cumberland Gap, and up Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road to the outpost of Boone's Station

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[42] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 254, 270, ff.
[43] Indenture of the Watauga Purchase, March 19, 1775, Office of the Register of Washington County, Jonesboro, Tennessee.
[44] Compare Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*, plate 60-61.
[45] Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 20, 1784, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

on the Kentucky River. Just before Christmas a party went out to kill turkeys for the next day, but they never returned; the Indians fell upon them and scalped them. After the holiday Jesse Benton was sent out with fifteen men to scour the woods for Indians for thirty miles around.[46] Though each man was offered a bounty of five pounds for each Indian scalp he brought back, the rangers returned four days later convinced the marauders had run away to the north.[47]

But Jesse preferred his home and his books to wandering in the West. A reserved, scholarly man, he particularly cherished his volumes in Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and English, ranging from Homer through Shakespeare and Cervantes to Madame de Sevigne,[48] and his library, like his father's, was one of the finest in the Piedmont.[49]

Meanwhile, beginning with news of war at Lexington and Concord, a great revolution began its course through the seaboard colonies. In the wake of these stirring events, Jesse Benton managed to remain comparatively calm. No passion for liberty overwhelmed him when a Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, committee adopted resolutions against royal rule in May, 1775;[50] and for years Jesse sat the Revolution out, looking after his law business and looking after his land speculations. He was never quite a tory, though his conservative outlook[51] inclined him in that direction.[52] But he was no flaming patriot either, though his sympathies finally fell with the new American cause.[53]

While the battle see-sawed in New York, New Jersey, and in the Carolinas, Jesse established his family. Sometime in the 1770s he married his friend Thomas Hart's niece, Ann Gooch of Virginia,[54] and by the end of the decade the couple had two

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[46] Thomas H. Benton to (—?), Washington, January 9, 1854, Draper Correspondence, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.
[47] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 382, 386.
[48] Jessie Benton Fremont, "Biographical Sketch of Senator Benton in Connection with Western Expansion," in John Charles Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), I, 2, 3.
[49] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 573.
[50] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, viii-xii, 295-298.
[51] Compare Jessie Benton Fremont, "Senator Thomas H. Benton," in *The Independent*, LV (January 29, 1903), 241.
[52] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[53] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," September 29, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[54] Sarah S. Young, *Genealogical Narrative of the Hart Family in the United States* (Memphis, 1882), 4, 78.

daughters living whom they named Margaret or Peggy and Mary or Polly.[55]

By 1780 it was getting harder and harder for a North Carolinian to stay outside the fight. In a final, doomed attempt to crush the rebellion, the British launched an attack at Charleston, and the fighting ranged north past Cowpens to Guilford Courthouse and into Hillsborough itself.[56] But when Lord Cornwallis marched into Hillsborough in February, 1781, and paved the streets so his artillery would not bog down,[57] Jesse Benton's chief concern was for his property. He was lucky enough to save everything from the troops, except 110 gallons of brandy, 60 pounds of brown sugar, and "some Juggs bottles and other Trifles which they plundered."[58]

Finally, however, Thomas Benton's father was drawn into the struggle. He watched with growing concern what was happening, formed his opinions,[59] and in July, 1781, he was elected to the state assembly.[60]

As an assemblyman, Jesse was one of five members of a committee named to raise a militia to support the patriot army.[61] He served at a time when issues of paper money had created a terrifying inflation. Despite his interest in property values, he was one of a majority to vote against a bill which would have empowered juries to favor or protect creditors against debtors by allowing for depreciation on Continental and state paper and adjusting the amounts of debts accordingly.[62] For his labors in the July session, at Wake Courthouse, Jesse received £2900—in debased paper currency.[63]

This one month was the measure of Jesse Benton's service as an assemblyman. It was not a distinguished service, though Jesse worked with and became friendly with a young man named Nathaniel Macon,[64] who later became North Carolina's most respected statesman.

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[55] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[56] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 346-467.
[57] Nash, *Hillsboro*, 50, 66, 83.
[58] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, June 4, 1781, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[59] Compare Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, December 23, 1780, August 21, 1781, *etc.*, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[60] Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 886-887.
[61] Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 883.
[62] Clark, *State Records*, XVII, 947.
[63] Clark, *State Records*, XIX, 392, and compare p. 395.
[64] Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 57.

All this time Jesse had been building his estate. A careful, businesslike man with a flair for detail, and a highly developed sense of property and position,[65] he could by the spring of 1781 take pride in owning the Eno plantation, valued at £1218, and some 1159 acres in other parts of the state, ten Negro slaves young and old, one black horse and one sorrel gelding, thirty head of cattle, and miscellaneous household property. He valued the whole estate at £9470, specie. But he was, like so many others of his time and place, land- and chattels-rich and money-poor—he could not recollect that he had in April, 1781, any money on hand.[66]

By fall Jesse was finally active against the tories in the Piedmont. Ranging bands had been making life miserable for people from Wilmington to Hillsborough,[67] plundering property and kidnapping solid citizens who were patriots—and finally something had to be done. In September Jesse was one of a hundred men who went out with his friend, Colonel Thomas Taylor. The volunteers found the tory camp and called on General Butler, who brought his troops to the spot and defeated the tories totally at Linley's Mill.[68]

This was Thomas Benton's father—quiet, conservative, with a strong sense of property, fastidious, cultured, reserved but interested in public affairs, and deeply devoted to his family and their future.[69]

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[65] Compare letters of Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, 1780-1790, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[66] An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for the Year 1781, in Jesse Benton Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[67] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," August 21, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[68] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, "Enoe," September 29, 1781, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[69] The story has been widely circulated that Jesse Benton was the first of his line in America, and that he came over from England with Governor Tryon in 1765 and was his private secretary. Apparently this tale had its origins with Jesse's granddaughter and namesake (Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 1), and it is repeated in the standard biography (Meigs, *Benton*, 13-16), and parroted in the biographical dictionaries and encyclopedias. It is a delightful story—Meigs even gives us a picture of a myopic Jesse leaving cloistered student ways in England, driven by illness or poverty, to adventure into a rough frontier life which he never understood or assimilated. All this, despite the fact that Thomas Benton in his memoir makes several references to his paternal grandfather in North Carolina (Benton, *View*, I, 57, 77, 98, 118)! In his careful way, the chief biographer (Meigs, *Benton*, 16), observes these but opines that Benton was suffering from a slip of memory. None of the biographers bothered to check North Carolina records, though the main body of these records was available in published form at least by the time Meigs wrote.

The facts of Samuel's career and Jesse's descent are well established, and there is no doubt that Jesse was *not* the family founder in America. As to Jesse's having been Governor Tryon's secretary, the writer has found no reference to this in the North Carolina records, though other men are listed as secretaries; no reference appears to any such position in any of Jesse Benton's letters available today; and Thomas Benton nowhere notes that his father held such a post. Silence of the records is of course no proof that Jesse was not Governor Tryon's secretary, but on the other hand there is no proof that he *was*, either; on the whole, it seems extremely unlikely.

The girl Jesse Benton married came from a distinguished Virginia line, with an aristocratic tradition. The only child of James Gooch, younger brother of Sir William Gooch, royal governor of Virginia from 1727 to 1749,[70] and of Ann Hart, whose family had settled in America in 1690,[71] Ann Gooch was born in Hanover County in central Virginia.[72] A lovely brown-haired, bright-eyed lass, she was twenty-four when Thomas was born.[73] She adored her quiet, gentle husband and was devoted to her family, and her charming presence and stately beauty[74] clothed a character and determination upon which time after time that family depended.[75] She was a devout, practicing member of the Episcopal church, with a strong dislike for gaming, drinking, and smoking.[76] But if she was a manager and straightlaced, she was also a warm, delightful companion who shared her husband's love of reading, and Jesse always called her by her pet name Nancy rather than by the formal name Ann.[77]

When she was a child, Ann Hart's parents died. She was reared thereafter by her uncle Thomas Hart, and she was in truth more Hart than Gooch. It was her uncle who brought her from Hanover County to North Carolina after 1760, when she was hardly old enough to talk, and it was her uncle who watched over her until she married Jesse.[78] This uncle was a prominent man in colonial North Carolina, and the infant Benton could be proud to bear his name. Not only was he a partner in the Transylvania Company, but he served as sheriff of Orange County in 1763, was the Orange delegate to the first North Carolina revolutionary convention in 1774,[79] and was a colonel in the Revolutionary Army.[80] His extensive business interests in land and in other property ramified throughout Orange County and beyond.[81]

These were the forebears of Thomas Hart Benton.

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[70] Fremont, "Senator Thomas H. Benton," 241.
[71] Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.
[72] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[73] Compare burial records, Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis.
[74] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.
[75] Compare Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[76] "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," Washington *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.
[77] Compare will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, 1753-1819, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[78] Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.
[79] Nash, *Hillsboro*, 8, 38.
[80] Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 5.
[81] Compare letters of Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, 1780-1790, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

III

The Eno Valley was a pleasant place to raise a child, and the infant Thomas Benton flourished in the heady Piedmont air and the spring and summer sunshine. The boy's mother sang to him and nursed him. She was aided in the chores of tending the baby by Milly, a Negro girl of twelve who was in training as a house slave,[82] and as the boy grew he could find a baby-hood companion in the slave Betsey who was born eighteen months before he was.[83] And little Thomas's big sisters Peggy and Polly were there to pet him and help teach him his first words.[84] But he was closest to his happy, capable mother,[85] who guided him through the little stages of growing up and took such pride in him always.[86]

When Thomas was about six months old, his family moved across the Eno to a larger plantation called Hartford. This plot, with its 215 acres[87] and its grist mill, fulling mill, and oil mill beside the stream, had belonged to Thomas Hart and had been sold to Jesse Benton on a sort of installment basis. It had wide fields for farming, but neither the fields nor the mill produced much during the fall and winter of 1782-1783. It was a most fatal hard year, Jesse thought, without water to run the mills or bring up the crops,[88] and the Bentons were lucky to be all in health and to have enough grist from their stones to give the family bread.[89]

Still, the family could enjoy the larger place and the fine plantation house. The frame building was surrounded by a grove of oaks, and there was a path to a bubbling spring in the rear of the house and the orchard beyond. Past that there was the dark mass of pines for a background.[90]

By the time Thomas was a year old, hard times were really at hand. The crops were poor or lost altogether, and many families

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[82] Compare will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[83] Compare An Inventory of the Estate of Jesse Benton for 1781, Jesse Benton Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[84] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[85] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.
[86] Compare Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[87] Jesse Benton's Taxable Property of 1788, Orange County Records, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[88] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, December 4, 1782, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[89] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
[90] Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 8.

had to go fifty or sixty miles for bread, while their debts mounted. Lawyer Benton was commissioned to collect moneys owed Thomas Hart, who had moved to Maryland, but he was indulging many small debtors because of the hard times. He wondered where he himself was to get the money to meet a payment on Hartford and make repairs to the mill and the house. For that year, at least, he was happy with his clerkship, which he thought was "the best Mill I own"—it brought him a steady return of £150 a year, specie, exclusive of bad fees.[91]

But the family did not despair. By the end of the summer, Hartford was bringing in an income, though Jesse had to sell some Negroes to make ends meet.[92]

As he grew old enough to know he had a father as well as a mother, Thomas had to learn to accept the fact that Jesse was away from home sometimes. In addition to his extensive business looking after the holdings of Thomas Hart, his profession carried him around the county court circuit and to other courts in the Old North State.[93] But the boy had a constant companion in Nancy, and as the years passed there were younger brothers and sisters with whom he could play. Young Thomas learned to get along with a Jesse, Jr., with little Nancy, with young Samuel, and finally with Nathaniel and Susannah.[94] Under Nancy Ann's teaching the brothers and sisters grew into a close and affectionate group.[95]

Once when Thomas was still a child, a young lawyer named Andrew Jackson stopped at Hartford, and stayed all night with the family[96]—a tall, slender, graceful youth he was, with handsome steel blue eyes and a broadcloth coat and ruffled shirt.[97]

When Thomas was four, and times were better, his father built a new residence for his wife and children. In the spring he moved his family again, together with the weaving house, to a high spot on Hartford with good clean soil for a yard and a

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[91] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, March 22, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[92] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, August 23, 1783, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[93] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, June 20, 1784, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[94] Young, *Genealogical Narrative*, 78.

[95] Compare Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress; Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4; and Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.

[96] Benton, *Thirty Years View*, I, 736.

[97] Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Garden City, 1940), 37.

garden. It was "the Pleasantest and most beautiful situation in Orange," with a delightful prospect including the range of mountains, his friend Colonel Alfred Moore's houses and half a dozen other plantations. There Jesse put in a new twenty-acre farm, which produced very well. He rented the old houses and stables to a tavern keeper, and planned to rent the plantation tanyard and store before fall.[98]

Soon the boy was old enough to go about some with his mother and older sisters, or with one of the slaves. Visiting in the neighborhood, or in the village of Hillsborough itself, he could gaze at the elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen of the Tidewater aristocracy who came to the Piedmont for the summer air,[99] or at the thriving local population of rough farmers or wide-ranging country children. He could listen to a tiny little lady near Hillsborough who entertained the neighbors by singing English or Scottish ballads, playing on a mandolin-like old English guitar with twelve strings.[100] At the family plantation itself, Thomas could learn fishing in a stream which was filled with good catches.[101]

But it was not all pastoral calm at Hartford. Gradually Jesse Benton's health was giving way to consumption,[102] and he worried more and more about his debts and the insecurity of his wife and children. "Interest on a considerable sum is fatal to a small Estate," he lamented, "and the thought which frequently intrudes upon me, of the uncertainty of a Man's Days, and leaving a Family incapable of settling an incumbered estate, carries with it a Melancholy idea." To be sure, business was good. Still, a swarm of insects the Lord had sent as in the plagues of ancient Egypt, had destroyed wheat and rye crops, and rendered Jesse's "Manufactures" less profitable than they should have been.[103] And the master of Hartford did long for freedom from debt.

Meanwhile, Jesse was concerned about the education of his children. The accomplished Nancy taught Thomas at home as

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[98] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[99] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[100] Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 9.

[101] Moore, *Some Memories of My Life*, 22.

[102] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

[103] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, in Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress. This is an extraordinary document, twenty pages long, crammed with information about the Benton family, the plantation, Thomas Hart's business affairs, Jesse's forebodings, the consumption in the area, and the events of Hillsborough and the countryside.

quickly as he was able to learn, and Jesse arranged with the Reverend Mr. Micklejohn, who had come from England as chaplain to Governor Tryon, to tutor the young lad.[104] But the Orange lawyer was not satisfied, and he busied himself supporting an academy called Science Hall which was struggling to get a start in Hillsborough. In 1784 he served as secretary-treasurer of the board of trustees. A few years later, when he was assaulted by one Colonel William Sheppard, he gave the £50 damages he won from this local firebrand to the academy.[105] But the school disappeared about 1790. The Benton children never profited from it.[106]

How Jesse envied Nancy's uncle Thomas in Maryland, where he was able to educate his children in a manner agreeable to his own wishes. Such a thing could not be said of Hillsborough, though Jesse hoped it would soon be the case.[107]

By the time Thomas was six or seven, his father was widely known as an attorney. He was sought out about this time by former Revolutionary soldiers, who had been induced to part with their land bounties for next to nothing during the hard times, and who now asked Jesse how they might get them back. Generally there was nothing the lawyer could do. The sight of the plain, defrauded men who came to the Hartford plantation to see his father, sometimes ragged, desperate men with worn wives and hungry children, deeply impressed the young boy. It was perhaps his first inkling that not everyone was so fortunate as he and his family.[108]

At the same time attorney Jesse Benton was doing well for himself. A couple of months after Thomas was born he had been worried about the huge Cumberland claim—"a designing person,

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[104] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3, 4.

[105] Francis Nash, "The History of Orange County," *North Carolina Booklet*, X (October, 1910), 108-113.

[106] Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 468. The statement has been made that Thomas Benton probably attended this school both before and after his father's death, in 1790 (Nash, "The History of Orange County," 113). But the school disappears from record in the year of Jesse's death, when Thomas was only eight (perhaps because of the death the year before of its mentor Zadoc Squires), and it seems unlikely that Thomas would have gone there. In addition, we know that Thomas did attend a grammar school run by Richard Stanford from New England (Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. ii), and there is no evidence known to the writer that Stanford was associated with Science Hall, and the standard history lists him separately (Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, II, 41). It seems likely that Jesse's probable hopes went unrealized. It should be noted that though Jesse mentions the school in a letter to Thomas Hart (Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress), he does not say in the preserved correspondence that Thomas is being sent to Science Hall.

[107] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[108] *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 2 Session, 998.

by the name of Person," was taking "great pains to destroy the Claim of Henderson and Company."[109] But nothing came of this threat. By the time Thomas was four, Jesse had somehow managed to enter and pay for nearly twenty thousand acres on the Cumberland waters—a move which he thought "a Capital stroke."[110]

Meanwhile, Jesse was watching interests in other sections—a plot of 6,250 acres in the Green River area of central Kentucky, and several thousand acres along the Powell Valley in the mountains just east of Cumberland Gap.[111]

But most of Jesse's speculations were in that part of North Carolina west of the mountains which later became Tennessee. By 1788 he held claims which made him a land octopus of the top rank—the huge sum of 23,931 acres, or in all the equivalent of a county nearly twenty miles on each side. His claims included plots of 1,750 acres and 4,000 acres on the Chickasaw Bluffs of the Mississippi River in the section which later became Memphis, a 640 acre pre-emption on the Cumberland River, a plot of 15,875 acres which Jesse held as a partner of Memucan Hunt and Company on the headwaters of the Obion River near the Mississippi, and 1,666 acres held as part of a larger plot he had entered with Thomas Hart and Charles Porter. Because none of these claims had been surveyed, the Orange County court, Samuel Benton, Jr., clerk, found that the Hartford speculator would not have to pay taxes on them that year.[112]

At home the Bentons were well off in land too. Since Thomas's birth Jesse had managed to add sixty acres to "the Manor Plantation & Land called Hartford," and had managed to pick up about a thousand acres in other Piedmont plots in addition. By 1790 he was paying taxes on a total of 1,408 acres, one white poll (himself), and seven Negro slaves—the largest single landholding and slaveholding claimed that year in the Hillsborough district.[113] In addition there were the horses in the stables, the mills, the

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[109] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, May 10, 1782, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[110] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[111] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 20, 1784, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[112] A List of Jesse Benton's Taxable Property, 1788, in Orange County Records, 1788-1793, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[113] Clark, *State Records*, XXVI, 1312.

cattle, and the plantation utensils.[114] When the Bentons went about the county they could do so confident that they were the equals of any family there.

The children thrived, and Jesse took great pride in Thomas and his sisters. They were all blessed with a good share of natural understanding, he thought—though certainly Polly had an uncommon share, being shrewd and witty and more attentive to learning than any child he ever knew. The two girls had been taught to read and to sew by their mother. The happy Nancy was like to become a fat woman, Jesse believed—and he too would soon be fat were he not engaged in so much business and exercise.[115] It was a close family, where the children often added their regards to their parents' when the master of Hartford wrote their great uncle and benefactor Thomas.[116]

Moreover, good years had followed the bad ones that had plagued Orange about the time Thomas was born. When the boy was six, his father exulted that fine crops of wheat, corn, rye, oats, and tobacco were in the ground. [117]

The big subject of conversation at the end of the 1780's was the new Federal constitution which had been adopted at Philadelphia. The citizens of the Piedmont were generally against it, Jesse noted with concern—all except some who understood the business of government. But few of these from the upper part of the state could ever get into the state convention which was called to act on the new plan. It was the old problem again—those who had and those who had not. And Jesse was sure that the have-nots would never allow themselves to be cut off from the means of cheating their creditors with fraudulent paper currency and all "suchlike dishonorable advantages."[118]

Nonetheless, Thomas Benton's uncle Samuel Benton *did* get to the North Carolina ratifying convention from Hillsborough, and of course voted with the 195 yeas to ratify the new Constitution and against the 77 delegates who opposed it.[119]

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[114] Will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[115] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 3, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[116] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, November 20, 1786, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[117] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 29, 1788, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[118] Jesse Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, June 29, 1788, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[119] Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 39, 49.

Soon after Samuel's return Jesse made another effort to extend his holdings beyond the mountains. He commissioned a surveyor, Issac Roberts, to run the 10,000 acres on the Wolf River at Chickasaw Bluff in which he was interested along with two friends named John Boles and John Ray. The surveyor was to move the tracts in case they conflicted with other better claims.[120] By the fall of 1790 Issac Roberts was back to tell Jesse that he had changed the location of the claims and run the lines as directed—and to give Jesse a receipt for the £20 current money he was paid for the work.[121]

This was Jesse Benton's last speculation, his last attempt to provide for his heirs. Before the cold Piedmont winter was out, before the year was over, Thomas Benton's father was dead[122] of the consumption that had haunted him so long.[123]

At his death Jesse Benton left his family an estate that was large, but at the same time heavily encumbered with debt. His first concern was for Nancy, who was to have the Meadow Place plantation on McGowen's Creek in Orange County to live on, and who was to have the three house slaves Jack, Milley, and Rose. In addition she was to have the horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and fowls, and all the household and kitchen furniture, the still, wagon, gear, and all the plantation utensils, and all the meat, corn, wheat, and forage on hand as well as £100 current money. Finally, she was to have the use of the rest of the slaves and all the profits from the rest of the property.

The children were left the slaves and most of the western lands. These were to be divided into equal lots, whenever one of the youngsters came of age or one of them was married—the division to be performed by a commission of freeholders in order to avoid dispute.

To pay his debts, Jesse authorized his executors to dispose of large chunks of his property. These executors, his wife Nancy and his friends Alfred Moore, William Watters, and Absalom Tatom, were to dispose of his law books, and the plantation and mills at Hartford, or such other lands in Orange County or on

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[120] Memorandum by Jesse Benton, January 8, 1790, Jesse Benton Papers, Library of Congress.
[121] Receipt, Issac Roberts to Jesse Benton, September 4, 1790, Jesse Benton Papers, Library of Congress.
[122] *Fayetteville Gazette*, January 10, 1791.
[123] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.

the Mississippi as they might think fit. The executors were also enjoined to see that the children received an education, and that Jesse's sons were taught the English language as perfectly as might be found necessary. Finally, the executors were to collect any debts due the estate, and were to advance whatever was necessary to secure the titles to Jesse's precious western speculations.

The precisely drawn lawyer's will was witnessed by Jesse's brothers, Samuel and Augustine, and was proved in open court at Hillsborough in the August term of 1791.[124]

IV

With Jesse gone, the young widow Benton now faced the problem of providing for her family and of planning Thomas's future. The pre-adolescent and adolescent years of Thomas Benton were years spent with his mother, years during which her dominant, moulding, forming influence made him what he was, years he was never to forget. The eight-year-old Thomas and the thirty-two-year-old Nancy were close, and his memories of their early association passed in his middle life into family traditions.[125]

Young Thomas always remembered his first sight of his mother after his father's death. For nearly a year and a half after Jesse died, Nancy Benton was ill, weak, and despondent, suffering physically as well as emotionally under her affliction,[126] and she was not allowed to see her children. But at last they were taken to her room—and when little Thomas Benton saw his mother he was struck with awe and terror. In place of the young, gay companion of thirty-two he had known, with health and animation lighting her fine blue eyes, there was a thin, white-faced, and white-haired woman who seemed already old. As Thomas hesitatingly went toward her, fighting back tears, Nancy took

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[124] Will of Jesse Benton, October 21, 1790, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[125] In fact, very nearly all that is known about Thomas Benton's early life is through family traditions and reminiscences. *In this section only, these materials have been broadly used here in order to reconstruct something like an adequate account.* But the reminiscences have not been used uncritically; they have been checked against such documents as are available, against one another, and against logical developments which may be inferred from documents. Stories which do not stand this testing have been rejected. Where the stories are Thomas Benton's own, there is an added probability about them, for comparing Thomas Benton's memoirs with the record when possible shows that he had a remarkable memory, allowing here and there for some exaggeration but not fabrication. Many of Jessie Benton Fremont's reminiscences are stories her father told her and she set down.

[126] Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

his hand in hers and put it on the hand of his baby sister. He was the eldest son, she said, and the head of the family now, since his father's death—the eight-year-old boy must help her in caring for the others.

When the children were taken from their mother's presence, Thomas broke away from the rest and burst from the house. He ran to a grove of trees nearby, and there with cries and tears he made war on himself trying to accept the ghost he had just seen, in place of his own, plump, bright, vigorous mother.[127] But he could not calm himself. He was moody the rest of the week, and his great vitality, deep and strong affection, and boyish but powerful mind would not let him accept what he had seen. Finally, as he was coming back from chapel the next Sunday, the chaplain took him by the hand and led him again to the grove of trees. Here he read the boy a verse from a Greek text of the Sermon on the Mount—"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted." The man and the boy remained in the grove until the chaplain was sure Thomas understood the words he read, and until the passionate lad was able to reconcile himself to what had happened and could not be changed.[128]

Even before she had recovered her health, Nancy Benton was hard at work planning for the future of her many children. Her first task was the swarm of debt her husband had left—debt to Thomas Hart, debt to William Cain and Company in Hillsborough, debt to other creditors in Orange County.[129] It was a serious problem, Jesse's indebtedness. Some of Jesse's friends were amazed at how deeply involved he had become, though they knew he had an "expensive family" to keep.[130] What was a young widow to do, with eight children to be brought up in accord with their status in the community?

Always a resolute person, Nancy's new position seemed to give her an added strength. She would do the job, she determined, and she set about managing the estate in a businesslike fashion. She put herself in bond to her Uncle Thomas Hart, and thus paid

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[127] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 3.
[128] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.
[129] Will of Jesse Benton, in Wills, Orange County, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
[130] John Umstead to Thomas Hart, October 24, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

off the more pressing creditors in the neighborhood.[131] She rented the mills at Hartford immediately, for a year's rent was something to her helpless family. She set about finding a purchaser for the Orchard Plantation—a purchaser who could offer her a definite sum in good, hard specie. At all events, she was determined to supply the children with books, and paper, and such other things as they really stood in need of. And she was determined to realize enough from Jesse's far-flung but not-so-liquid investments to keep her family from moving west of the mountains. She would rather live in the beautiful Eno Valley than in any other place she knew of anywhere.[132]

The problem was finally solved with further aid from Thomas Hart. When a large part of Jesse Benton's estate was put up for sale in February, 1792, Uncle Thomas arranged with Nancy to have his agent buy the property to hold it in trust for her and the children.[133] For this Nancy was grateful, but she made it clear to Uncle Thomas that she would have everything that was coming to her and her children under the terms of the agreement. She worked at the business of managing an estate, looking over deeds, checking accounts and writing business letters in her strong clear hand.[134] With another long-term bond to Thomas Hart executed in August, 1792, she could at last feel that she and her family were comparatively secure once more.[135]

Four years after her husband's death, when Thomas was twelve, Nancy paid the family taxes in the District of Hillsborough on 1,140 acres of land and six slaves.[136]

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[131] Bond of Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, October 26, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[132] Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, April 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[133] John Umstead to Thomas Hart, October 24, 1791, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[134] Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hartford, September 25, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[135] Bond of Nancy Benton to Thomas Hart, Hillsborough, August 12, 1792, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

[136] List of Taxable Property, Orange County, 1752-1798, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. A good deal of nonsense has been written about the economic status of Thomas Benton's family before and after his father's death. One of his biographers, with a romantic notion of the alleged equalitarian nature of the Piedmont in 1780-1790, places the Bentons "on the frontier, where caste was, and is, almost unknown," and thereby assumes that the Bentons were poor like everyone else (Roosevelt, *Benton*, 21). Another actually feared that after Jesse's death, his family faced "grinding poverty" (Meigs, *Benton*, 17). Neither of these writers went to tax records, wills, or other documents to find out what the structure of society at the place and time really was, and what the Bentons' place was in it. Clearly, though they were sometimes "land poor," the Bentons were in the upper economic group in Orange County, and among the "best people" or "quality." If Nancy had her troubles after Jesse died, it was not because she faced starvation but simply because she believed it her duty to go on maintaining an "expensive family" in the way to which they were all accustomed.

But, as Thomas recalled it in later years, his mother had time for less worldly things too. In particular she was interested in the education of her children, and as a woman of reading and observation[137] she was determined that they should have all the learning she could give. There was Thomas—at ten a vigorous, black-haired, restless, inquiring lad with a very large head set on his tall, sturdy body—ripe, Nancy thought, for the training that would make him a man of culture and a lawyer like her departed husband.[138] She began her teaching by leading Thomas to the big folio editions of the British state trials in Jesse's library.[139] She read the narrative portions to the lad, and then encouraged him to go on to pick up all he could.[140]

The plan worked—soon the boy was hard at it. Under his mother's guidance Thomas ranged into the scriptures also, and into Plutarch's Lives and British history in general—at an age when other boys were absorbed in Robinson Crusoe and Robin Hood.[141]

What began as reading went on to precepts. If the boy took such a dislike to Sir Edward Coke because of his treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh that he was never in later life able to quote the jurist, he nonetheless determined at the age of ten to become the lawyer his mother wanted him to be.[142] Soon he revealed a strong imagination. He mourned at the fate of Russell, Sydney, Lady Alice Lyle, and Raleigh, and he was much older before he realized that they belonged to another country and another time. With these tales, encouraged by Nancy, he imbibed a Whig passion for liberty and hatred of tyranny. It was strong stuff for a lad. How young Thomas loathed the king, how he grieved at the fate of those carried off at the royal behest to the dungeon, to the court, to the scaffold, to be half-hung and cut down half-alive, belly ripped open and bowels torn out—and the property confiscated to the crown.[143]

If this reading was a little remote from Hillsborough, 1794,

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[137] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[138] "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," Washington *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.
[139] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[140] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.
[141] "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.
[142] "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.
[143] *Register of Debates*, 21 Congress, 1 session, 113.

that was hardly a drawback. His mother's training laid in Thomas the foundation of a classical and historical education, a love of heavy, solid books, and a feeling, if somewhat abstract, still a feeling, for human liberty. Nor did Nancy stop there. She was a genuinely pious woman, and she cultivated the moral and religious education of her children, leading them to the path of righteousness according to the Episcopal Church of which she was a communicant. She stressed the major virtues of the scriptures, and the minor ones too, and bent the children to her mold.[144] The minor virtues included renouncing a number of vices common to the time. Nancy warned Thomas against tobacco, and he never touched it; she asked him not to game in cards, and he never gamed; she admonished him against hard drinking, and he never took hard liquor in his life.[145]

But life was not all great folios and moral lessons. An adolescent boy, Nancy knew, needed the outdoor life that the Eno Valley so wonderfully offered, and Thomas had horses, dogs, and a gun to carry when he went into the pine woods to hunt the plentiful small game. Each of the brothers had his own dog to train, though for a time they had to share one gray horse among them, which they led a troubled existence. As the years went by, Thomas and his younger brothers learned every hill, every part of the woods, and every stream in the region.[146]

Before long Thomas was at school in Hillsborough. Riding in from the plantation, he could stable the horse and wander about the streets of the little town, dotted with brick houses among the predominant frame and stone dwellings.[147] His school was kept by Richard Stanford, a young New England immigrant, who later served many years in Congress and was for a time the friend of John Randolph and Nathaniel Macon.[148]

By the time he was sixteen, in 1798, the young man had his first contact with politics. In the last days of George Washington's presidency, the old general had recalled James Monroe, his minister to France, in some disgrace. On his return, Monroe had retaliated with a hundred-page pamphlet attacking the

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[144] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. i.
[145] "Remarks of Thomas H. Benton at the New England Celebration in New York," *National Intelligencer*, December 25, 1856.
[146] Fremont, "Biographical Sketch," 4.
[147] Nash, *Orange County*, 80.
[148] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," p. ii.

President and his administration for deserting the republican cause. The pamphlet found its way to Hillsborough. Young Thomas read it and was immediately incensed at Washington and sympathetic to Monroe. He went into every company he found, declaiming with the fury of a little *sans-culotte* against the base ingratitude of the ex-President, and passionately extolling the disgraced minister. Surely, Washington had sold himself to the king.[149]

V

Shortly after Christmas, in 1798, Thomas Benton took his horse from the stable and set out to ride the twelve-odd miles to the town of Chapel Hill. The sixteen-year-old boy was going to college, at the University of North Carolina.[150] He had learned what he could from his mother's teaching, his father's library, and the school kept by Richard Stanford—it was time now for the best education the Old North State offered.[151] The lad could look forward to his college years as he rode through the deep, green pine woods. The university, which had opened four years before, already had a reputation which had drawn to it the sons of the best families of the aristocratic Tidewater as well as a few fortunate youths from the Piedmont. The inviting campus, with its sweetgums and dogwoods adding a touch of russet and gold to the forest green, was already a center of pride to educated North Carolinians.[152]

When Thomas arrived, he was placed in the yellow-brick East Building. This two-story structure, with its small porches at either door, contained the dormitory quarters in which students lived four to a room, sleeping on beds rented from townsfolk.[153]

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[149] Article signed Oldcastle [Benton], Nashville *Impartial Review and Cumberland Repository*, July 14, 1808.

[150] The story has been widely reprinted that Thomas Benton studied law under St. George Tucker at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Just when he might have fitted this interlude into his life it is hard to say, and in any case an inquiry to officials at the college elicits the reply that his name does not appear on their books and that there is not even a local tradition to the effect that he studied there—and "tradition through the centuries has usually laid claim to the education of every prominent man who stepped in the city limits of Williamsburg" (letter from Robert L. Bidwell to writer, Williamsburg, April 6. 1948). Apparently just another example of the apocrypha that gather about any great name.

[151] Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," pp. i, ii.

[152] Compare Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907), I, 35, 61.

[153] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 60.

Young Thomas was settled with Fleming Saunders, William Cherry of Tidewater Bertie County, and Marmaduke Baker.[154]

There were only two-score students at the college. The curriculum to which Thomas was subjected was limited, with a strong classical bias—Latin introduction, Virgil's *Eclogues,* the Greek Testament, Telemachus, Cicero, and later, algebra, astronomy, DeLolme on the English constitution, Horace, trigonometry, Millot's *Elements of History,* Paley's *Moral Philosophy,* and Blair's *Lectures.* A dozen students matriculated with Thomas Benton in the freshman course that began in January, 1799. Out of this dozen, only three were to graduate, the rest falling by the way when they got mixed up in pranks or brawls, when they failed to get their lessons, or when they found themselves unable to meet expenses.[155]

The diet in the dining room was no more generous than that of the classroom. Breakfast included one warm roll and butter, one loaf of wheat or corn flour, and coffee, tea, or chocolate, while at dinner Thomas could choose on various days between bacon and greens, beef and turnips, fresh meats, or fowl, topped off with pudding or tarts and corn-bread. Supper was limited to "the necessary quantity of bread or biscuit," with coffee, tea or milk.[156]

On February 5, 1799, young Benton was elected to the Philanthropic Society.[157] Every student at that time belonged to one of two societies, the "Phi" or Philanthropic Society or the "Di" or Dialectic Society, literary clubs with regular Thursday night meetings which included reading aloud, declamation, and the delivery of original compositions. These groups through their *"Censors Morum"* were largely responsible for college discipline, and to be dropped from the Phi or Di was tantamount to being expelled from the University itself.[158]

Before long Thomas was involved in a first-class brawl. There was a grammar school on the same grounds with the college, and when Benton undertook to reprove a grammar boy named John

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[154] Faculty Records, 1799-1814, manuscript, at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. For permission to use these valuable documents, which have not previously been searched for the Benton story by anyone except University officials, I am deeply indebted to Chancellor R. B. House and Dr. R. D. W. Connor.

[155] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina,* I, 168-169, 194-195.

[156] Battle *History of the University of North Carolina,* I-51.

[157] Manuscript note, n. d., Miscellaneous Philanthropic Society Papers, University of North Carolina.

[158] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina,* I, 72-74.

Lytle for conduct unbecoming a small child, John's older brother Archibald Lytle called Thomas a "damned rascal."[159] This did not sit well with the scion of Samuel and Jesse Benton, Esquires, Colonel Thomas Hart, and James Gooch and Nancy Gooch. The vigorous, burly, black-haired boy challenged Archibald to a fight. When Lytle refused because it was against the rules, Thomas stood in a doorway and taunted him. Come on, he cried, and take your whipping! Be a man, he jeered, and fight for what you have said.[160]

An argument followed, and Lytle called Benton a liar. Promptly, young Thomas drew a pistol, loaded, powder in the pan. With this, Archibald got a pistol of his own, also loaded and ready, but by the time he returned to the scene Benton had been deprived of his weapon by a professor. This was the end of the affair. Later, at an airing before the faculty, the sixteen-year-old Thomas said he had not intended to kill Archibald but only to wound him under the shoulder.[161]

Meanwhile, Thomas was absorbed in the daily round of life at the college. He made friends, among them a little, retiring youngster named John Duncan Toomer, who long remembered the big lad as a kind companion and able protector.[162] But Thomas did not go about, did not spend money in the town the way his roommates Saunders, Baker, and Cherry did. They thought him parsimonious, and noted his lack of ready cash,[163] and apparently Thomas was in fact not receiving money from home as regularly as some other boys were.[164]

The days passed, and the nights, until one evening Thomas found himself alone in his room. That night he went to his trunk, and took out his key, opened the chest, picked up a purse of money Fleming Saunders had asked him to keep safe for him—and took from it nine dollars. The week drew to a close, and nothing happened. But then, one morning, Saunders asked

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[159] Statements at an Investigation of the Faculty of the University, Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

[160] Statements at an Investigation of the Faculty of the University, Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

[161] Statement of Thomas H. Benton in Faculty Records, 1799-1814, University of North Carolina.

[162] H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," Charlotte *Democrat*, October 1, 1880, clipping at the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. For referring me to this item I am indebted to Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina.

[163] Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

[164] H———, "About Thomas H. Benton," Charlotte *Democrat*, October 1, 1880.

Benton for his purse, and immediately suspected that it was lighter and exclaimed that some of his money was gone. When Saunders looked into his purse, he exclaimed that he was sure some money was missing. Struggling to master his uneasiness, Thomas expressed his surprise—but nothing came of the business, and Thomas Benton's roommates put it all down to bad memory on Saunders' part.[165]

It was so easy. On March 8 William Cherry found that his pocketbook had been taken from his coat during the night, with eight dollars in it, and a little later Marmaduke Baker missed eighteen dollars and a shilling. By this time, Thomas's roommates were suspicious. In his wallet Cherry had had a new Federal one-dollar note which he believed was the only one of its kind in the village, and when they learned of Cherry's loss Baker and Saunders went to the merchants and tavern keepers in town and asked them to watch for this note. Soon Hugh Nunn, a clerk in Scott's store, reported that he had seen this note in Thomas Benton's possession and that young Benton would not part with it even in exchange for specie. About this time also, the roommates noticed that Thomas stayed up later than they did and that he always tied on his neck-handkerchief carefully before he went to bed, as though he were hiding something there.[166]

Just two days after Thomas Benton's seventeenth birthday, his roommates went to President Caldwell with their story. With Dr. Caldwell, they arranged a trap—Saunders stayed up late that night, almost until midnight after Benton was asleep, when he searched Benton's purse and found Cherry's bill there. The next morning Saunders suggested a breakfast in the country—"If anyone can eat ten eggs and drink five dishes of coffee, I will pay for the breakfast."[167] As the group walked out in the pine woods, Benton stayed ahead of the rest, until finally his roommates called him back and told him of their suspicions.

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[165] Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina. The entire story of Thomas Benton's stealing from his roommates is set out in great detail in this statement, which was signed by the roommates in the presence of the University faculty.

[166] Statement of Fleming Saunders, Marmaduke Baker, and William Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

[167] Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

They must search him, they said, and they must search his pocketbook.[168]

At first Benton refused. The roommates thought they saw him move something from one pocket to another, and insisted on a search, and when young Thomas at last consented, they found Cherry's bill loose in his pocket. Pressed, Benton confessed taking Cherry's money. He had intended to replace it, he said, and he had not taken more, he insisted. But finally he admitted having taken nine dollars from Saunders, eighteen dollars and a shilling from Baker, and seven dollars from Cherry.[169]

It was, Thomas knew, the end of his days at the University. Discovered and exposed as a petty sneak thief, he would be sent down to Hillsborough in disgrace, to face his stern, upright mother and his family. If it had been only one incident . . . if he had been able to replace the money he took . . . if he could only live the last few weeks over. . . . But it had all been too easy, one incident had led to another, and now the disgrace was there, with no way out of it. The boy was dejected, broken.[170] Finally, on March 19, 1799, Thomas Benton, freshman, of Hillsborough, was expelled from the Philanthropic Society by a unanimous vote.[171]

Two days later, the lad was home at Hartford, only to be faced there with another accusation. On March 21, 1799, young Thomas was called to the door to find his former roommates Fleming Saunders and Marmaduke Baker, with one Thomas King, in the yard waiting for him. They had just ridden down from Chapel Hill. In the plantation house yard, King asked Benton if he had stolen some money from him, also. He had missed some, and had not known whom to suspect until he had heard of Benton's confessing to other thefts, but now he believed

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[168] Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

[169] Statement of Saunders, Baker, and Cherry, March 19, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

[170] Compare H————, "About Thomas H. Benton," Charlotte *Democrat*, October 1, 1880.

[171] Manuscript note, n. d., Miscellaneous Philanthropic Society Papers, University of North Carolina. A memoir long after the fact gives an extenuating account of Thomas Benton's motives (H————, "About Thomas H. Benton," Charlotte *Democrat*, October 1, 1880).

According to this story, little John Duncan Toomer noticed one day that his friend from Hillsborough was depressed, and finally ventured to ask young Benton the cause.

"Have you not heard?" Thomas cried.

"No," the boy replied, "I have not."

Whereupon Thomas told his friend Toomer his story. He had needed money to pay some college dues, and he didn't have it; every day he expected money from home, but the days passed and it didn't come. Then he took some money from one of his roommates, expecting to return it before its absence would be discovered. But he had been suspected, and charged, and had confessed; and now he knew he would be expelled and sent down to his home.

that Benton had opend his trunk and taken his money too. Dispirited again, Thomas admitted that he *had* stolen from King. He had had a key made which exactly fitted the lock to King's trunk, and had used this to open the chest and take the money.[172]

The young Benton's measure of bitterness was full.

The Bentons stayed the rest of that year and the next in North Carolina. But more and more, Nancy Benton was convinced that she could do better for herself and her family on the lands Jesse Benton had secured in the Cumberland River Valley in the new State of Tennessee to the west.[173] By 1801 she had settled her family on the frontier.

VI

What Thomas Hart Benton was to become as an adult, was very largely determined by his North Carolina boyhood.

Some of the makings of his political career he learned directly from his mother in Hillsborough. From her he got the stern sense of duty which led him to the politics he espoused, and from her he acquired habits of intense industry, his regard for learning and the facts, facts, facts, and his Puritan code of conduct.

Again, his interest in the law he got as a boy. If he would not in any case have followed his father's example, he was certainly impelled to do so by his mother's urgings and by her promptings of his early reading in the British folios. This, and the readings he did in ancient and English biography and history in his father's library at Hillsborough, certainly bent him toward the public life he finally undertook. In Benton's day even more

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[172] Statement of Thomas King, September 1, 1799, in Faculty Records, University of North Carolina.

The facts of this whole lamentable story have remained, except to a few privileged persons, obscure for 150 years. The latest history of North Carolina notes that Benton was expelled from the University for a "youthful prank" (Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New*, I, 381), and the University's historian attributes the story, carefully omitting Benton's name, entirely to the political passions that flared at the time (Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 194), while Benton in his only essay in autobiography fails to record it and notes merely that he did not finish a course of study at Chapel Hill—"his mother removing to Tennessee" (Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," pp. ii), and H————and Ehrhart (see below) had only a part of the facts.

The chief Benton biographer says that a trick was played on Benton when he was a youth—some money was hidden by some cousins with whom he was staying, in Benton's cravat, and the next morning one of the boys put his hand in his pocket and searched, *and* the money was of course found on Benton, and so on. This innocent caper, according to this account, gave rise to the countless stories which followed Benton in later life of his having been caught stealing as a youth (Meigs, *Benton*, 53). The authority given for this tale is Rebecca Hart, one of the cousins supposedly present at the time.

This is a pretty tale, but it sounds tailored to cover up the fact. There can be no doubt that Benton *did* steal the money—his roommates may have disliked him, and the Faculty Records contain only their statements and that of King, but to put the whole thing down as a hoax requires too many improbable assumptions and too much credulity in general.

[173] Compare John Umstead to Thomas Hart, August 7, 1800, Thomas J. Clay Papers, Library of Congress.

than now, lawyers took to politics as naturally as the western settlers did to the land, and a man brought up with Thomas Benton's training was almost bound to make at least a try at a public career.

Again, the two traumatic experiences in Thomas Benton's North Carolina life must be noted.

One of these came when the boy saw his mother after Jesse Benton's death. Years later he recalled the scene in which his bereaved mother propelled him, at the age of eight, into the position of *paterfamilias,* and said in effect that he must take his father's place in her life. This certainly gave the lad an unusually intense extra motivation to emulate his father, and finally to win supreme favor in his mother's eyes by becoming a greater success than his father had been. To a boy already endowed with a sharp mind, a vigorous will, and strong drives, his relations with his mother certainly supplied an extra something bound to produce an extraordinary result.

Next, there was his expulsion from the University under circumstances which added humiliation to humiliation. This vivid, searing experience must have redoubled Thomas's determination to vindicate himself in his mother's view, and also to prove himself to the whole world. He must have a great career, must achieve a high place. His honor was compromised—and he was later excessively touchy about his honor, even for a gentleman of the early 1800's, and he was always scrupulously, compulsively careful about matters of honesty in his public life. He was denied a university education—and he was as a man extraordinarily proud of his self-acquired learning, and showed it off at every opportunity.[174]

To be sure, his background was a strange one for a radical democrat who became an opponent of slavery. The descendant of a self-seeking grandfather and a conservative father, he was born to the privileges and assumptions of a well-to-do family

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[174] The story of Thomas Benton's thefts at the University of North Carolina followed him for the rest of his days. One of his Missouri acquaintances noted that various stories were told why he did not graduate (Bay, *Bench and Bar of Missouri,* 2); the national Democratic magazine in a biography in 1837 thought it necessary to deny "the slanders utterly false and base" about his early youth (*United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* I [October-December, 1837], 89); and a Virginia gentleman reading Benton's book in 1855 recalled that the story had been whispered about him all his adult life ("Extracts from the Diary of Edmund Ruffin," *William and Mary College Quarterly,* XXIII [July, 1914], 33). Though the story would not down, it seems doubtful that this was the thing which kept the man from running for the Presidency.

which was involved in great speculations. What is more, his family took slave-owning for granted. Finally, they were of the "quality" or aristocracy in the social stratification of the Piedmont, and Thomas was brought up to expect the things young gentlemen of quality expected everywhere from their inferiors. It took some new experiences beyond Hillsborough and a deal of intellectual travail before Thomas Benton reached the political views he finally adopted.

But the *drive* was there from childhood.

Tradition at Chapel Hill tells an interesting story of Thomas Benton's departure from the University. This story is perhaps psychologically if not literally true. It pictures the young Benton ready to mount his horse in front of the East Building, to make the weary ride home to face his mother and family. Many students had gathered to see him off, and as he pulled himself into the saddle his fellow scholars jeered at him. According to the story, the lad finally turned on his tormentors, suddenly hard, suddenly refusing to bear such humiliation.

"I am leaving here now," he is said to have shouted above the uproar, "but damn you, you will hear from me again."[175]

If the story is accepted, it is certainly clear that the boy who was born in North Carolina and was later a leader among the great men of his day, exerted himself to keep his word.

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[175] George Ehrhardt, "Expelled from North Carolina University on Theft Charge, Boy Becomes U. S. Senator," Raleigh *News and Observer*, February 5, 1928. This article was called to the writer's attention by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of Chapel Hill, N. C.

A LETTER FROM THE MUSES: THE PUBLICATION AND CRITICAL RECEPTION OF JAMES M. LEGARÉ'S "ORTA-UNDIS, AND OTHER POEMS" (1848)

By Curtis Carroll Davis

I

Thomas Powell, as the novelist Charles Dickens would have been delighted to testify, was an embezzler and forger in particular and a complete scoundrel in general.[1] But in the New York City of 1849 this Englishman—a whole ocean away from England—was identified as a jovial man-about-town, creator of that recent literary success, *The Living Authors of England,* a crony of newspaper and magazine editors, and altogether (from the viewpoint of, say, an ambitious and still struggling American writer) a person to cultivate. Such a viewpoint was held by the twenty-six-year-old South Carolina poet, James Mathewes Legaré. From Aiken, on November 16th, 1849, Legaré mailed Powell a lengthy screed cram-full of literary opinions and comment. He had done so, said the poet, to tell Powell how much he admired his *Living Authors,* to advise him that "I have a letter of introduction to present from one of the Muses," and to assure him that the present, accompanying epistle was "written with the single end of begging your acceptance of the small vol (of my poems) I will forward by the same mail."[2]

This small volume—102 pages in length and containing 30 pieces of verse—was *Orta-Undis* ["Sprung from Water"], *and Other Poems.* By February, 1848,[3] the book was off the presses

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[1] See Wilfred Partington, "Should a Biographer Tell?" *The Atlantic Monthly,* CLXXX (August, 1947), 56-63. This Dickens authority presents new data on the Dickens-Powell agitation, which resulted in Dickens' completely exposing Powell's perfidy in England, but apparently had little effect on the hackwriter's popularity in this country.

[2] Legaré's letter, in the Griswold Collection of the Boston Public Library, was published for the first time in the present writer's "Poet, Painter and Inventor: Some Letters by James Mathewes Legaré, 1823-1859," *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXI (July, 1944), 218-220. In this article, which also contains a summary of the poet's career, a printer's garble erroneously states (217, n. 4) that the Powell letter had previously appeared in R. W. Griswold, *Correspondence,* ed. W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, Mass., 1898).

[3] Cost-books of Ticknor & Fields, in manuscript at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. The writer is indebted to Miss Carolyn Jakeman, of the Library, for forwarding him a typescript copy of the Legaré entry, and to Professor Warren S. Tryon, of Boston University, for glossing it, in advance of its publication in his and William Charvat's edition of *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields and Their Predecessors, 1832-1858* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1949), 114. Without knowledge of the Charvat-Tryon project, the present writer had come upon the Legaré items in the Ticknor & Fields cost- and letter-books independently, and he is most grateful to Professor Tryon for the benefit of his editorial explanations of the publishing data (Tryon to the writer, February 20, 1948).

of the Boston firm of William D. Ticknor & Co., and by late May of the same year had been distributed to book-sellers. Like all publishing ventures, however, great or small, the act of appearance in print had been preceded by a period of private trial and error, hopes and fears, on the part of the author, comparable in length to that proportion of an iceberg which lies below the surface—about eight-ninths. Of *Orta-Undis* and its author, another and later Charleston writer, Ludwig Lewisohn, has remarked: "There remains of him, then, no memorial, save those few verses. But by virtue of them his place in American letters will, in time, be perfectly secure."[4] It seems to the present writer that this time has come. *Orta-Undis* is one of the better volumes of poetry to have appeared in the ante-bellum South—an appearance the more notable since it occurred at a stage in the history of our literary productivity when the reviewer of a contemporary collection of verses could seriously declare of the book in question: "It will be found a beautiful ornament for the centre table."[5] *Orta-Undis*, as a printer's effort, would not have beautified anybody's centre table. Its contents, however, boast their own beauty, of a sort more perduring than parlor furniture; and therefore a review of its history seems appropriate, particularly when we are able to chart the extent of its pre-publicational phase rather fully by the use of letters here reproduced, either wholly or in part, for the first time. Before this is done, a few new facts about the author will be pertinent.

Legaré, who was born in Charleston on November 26, 1823, probably did not receive his literary tendencies wholly as a gift of nature but in part as an inheritance from his father. John D. Legaré (1799-1860), who was to outlive his elder son by almost a year,[6] was the librarian of the Agricultural Society of

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[4] Ludwig Lewisohn, "James Matthew [*sic*] Legare," *Library of Southern Literature*, (Atlanta, Ga.: Martin & Hoyt, 1929), VII, 3191. Lewisohn has reprinted the following poems from *Orta-Undis:* "The Reaper," "To a Lily," "Tallulah," "On the Death of a Kinsman," "To Anne," "Flowers in Ashes," "Haw-Blossoms," "Ahab-Mohammed." For an earlier estimate of Legaré by Lewisohn, see below, p. 438, n. 58. Lewisohn's own background, quite different from Legaré's, may be read in his autobiography, *Upstream: An American Chronicle* (New York: The Modern Library, 1926).

[5] A religious weekly, *The Boston Recorder*, is briefly noting, in its issue for Friday, August 25, 1848 (XXXIII, 134), the Rev. James G. Lyons' *Christian Songs*.

[6] Identical notices, for the issues of Monday, March 12, 1860, appeared in *The Charleston Daily Courier* (2, col. 4) and in *The Charleston Mercury* (2, col. 3): "OBITUARY. Departed this life, in Aiken, March 9, 1860, John D. Legaré, formerly of Charleston, S. C." Under the Register of Burials in the *Parish Register* (p. 383) of St. Thaddeus Church, Aiken, for March 10, 1860, it is noted that John D. Legaré, aged sixty-one, was buried in the churchyard near his son, J. M. Legaré (Rev. Charles M. Seymour, Jr., Rector, St. Thaddeus Church, to the writer, January 18, 1947).

South Carolina for the years 1828-1830;[7] and after the Society had established its publication, *The Southern Agriculturist*, he was, without much doubt, identical with the J. D. Legaré who edited it from 1828 till 1834 and for a second time (as *The Southern Cabinet*) in 1840. There is even less doubt that it was the future poet's father who, in June, 1834, opened the Grey Sulphur Springs in Giles County, Virginia,[8] a spa of which the Philadelphia publisher and book-seller, Philip H. Nicklin, much approved.[9] While we have little data on the early life of John D. Legaré, the career of his son is by now fairly well charted. After attending the Grammar and English schools, and the college, of the College of Charleston until 1842, the youth completed his formal education by journeying up to Baltimore, where he spent a little over a year—from March, 1842, through July, 1843[10]—at St. Mary's College, now St. Mary's University and Seminary, a Roman Catholic institution which admitted pupils of all faiths. The records reveal that Legaré studied the ancient

[7] For these data the writer is much indebted to W. Allan Moore, Jr., of Charleston, a Legare descendant, a genealogist, and a member of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina. Mr. Moore has most generously furnished the writer with pertinent transcripts of the MS. *Minutes* of the Society, which are extant for the period 1825-1860 (Moore to the writer, May 16, 1948). See also Moore's genealogical chart accompanying the article, "Early Generations of the Legaré Family in South Carolina," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 46 (1941), 72-81. The writer's indebtedness also extends to Mrs. W. Allan Moore, Jr.

[8] See [John D. Legaré], *Account of the Medical Properties of the Grey Sulphur Springs Virginia* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1836). An eighteen-page advertising brochure, which includes, *inter-alia*, a testimonial letter to Legaré from the physician and poet, Samuel Henry Dickson, dated February 11, 1836 (15-16). Dickson taught at the Medical College of South Carolina, and the brochure cites (p. 2) an article by the professor of chemistry at the Medical College of South Carolina, Charles Upham Shepard, "Chemical Examination of the Water of the Gray [*sic*] Sulphur Springs of Virginia," in Benjamin Silliman's *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXX (July, 1836), 100-109. The article is dated Charleston, January 19, 1836. In August, 1836, Dickson was at the Springs, and his approbatory estimate of the waters may be found in his article, "The Grey Sulphur Springs of Virginia," in the Charleston periodical, *The Southern Literary Journal*, n. s. I (May 1837), 272-276. Legaré's own *Account* was reprinted nearly in full in the Appendix (V.) to the 2nd edition of Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (Woodstock, Va.: John Gatewood, 1850), 298-308, and reappears in the 3rd ed. (Woodstock: W. N. Grabill, 1902), 349-360, and in the 4th ed., edited by Oren F. Morton (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 340-351.

[9] "Peregrine Prolix" [Philip H. Nicklin], *Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs . . .* (Philadelphia, Pa.: H. S. Tanner, 1835), 55-56. Nicklin, who arrived at Grey Sulphur on September 10, 1834, notes: "This is a new establishment, grown up by magic since the first of June last. It belongs to John D. Legare, Esq. of South Carolina, a gentleman of established literary talent, who by his great enterprise and good taste, has made this lovely wilderness blossom like the rose . . . ."

When Martin Van Buren made the Springs tour in the summer of 1838, Legaré entertained him and his group at Grey Sulphur—"a well conducted establishment in general"—by having the Presidential party sit down "to a sumptuous dinner on the 6th [September], prepared especially for the occasion . . . ." (letter signed by "A Visitor," and published under title, "President Van Buren—The Springs," *Richmond Enquirer*, Friday, Sept. 28, 1838, 2, cols. 1-2).

[10] In his meticulously maintained diary, the Very Reverend Louis R. Deluol, S. S., third president of St. Mary's (1829-1849), wrote as follows, on March 12, 1842: "Mr. James Legare fils de John Legaré de Charleston est entre au College comme ecolier." A manuscript cash-book, labelled "1834-1852 St. Mary's College" (p. 128), tots up the various charges in the account of J. D. Legare, beginning March 12, 1842, and concluding July 19, 1843. Similarly, a manuscript volume, labelled "Cash Book 1835-1855 St. Mary's College" (n. p.), lists under its receipts for July 19, 1843, the "Legare final bill." All manuscripts pertaining to Legare's career at St. Mary's repose in the vault at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, where they were generously made available to the writer by the Rev. William J. O'Shea, archivist, and the late Rev. Philip J. Blanc, dean of St. Mary's and librarian.

and modern languages, as well as mathematics and chemistry;[11] and at the commencement held July 18, 1843, though he did not graduate, he received an honorary certificate, and won premiums in the individual subjects of rhetoric, natural history, astronomy, Spanish, German, and painting in oil—interests in most of which can be readily traced in the poet's later work. (It is noteworthy that, whereas Legaré was awarded triple premiums in German—for diligence, composition, and memory—and double premiums in Spanish—for diligence and composition—he earned nothing at all in English studies.)[12] By July 24, via the steam-packet *Gladiator,* Legaré was back in Charleston.[13] There he took up the study of law, for an indeterminate period, in the offices of James L. Petigru. Probably from disinclination, as well as for reasons of health, he did not continue in this field, and eventually centered his career round the writing of both fiction and verse, with a liberal admixture of interest in textiles and mechanical invention.

Presumably the poet's initial attempt to have his verses collected between the boards of a single volume occurred in the spring of 1845. Up to that time it is probable that Legaré had not yet succumbed to the disease, tuberculosis, which apparently first attacked him in 1847 and forced his removal to the healthier upland climate of Aiken. On May 6th, 1845, however, we find him in the city of his birth, addressing a prominent fellow resident, the novelist, poet, and editor, William Gilmore Simms. Apparently Simms had agreed to peruse Legaré's manuscript volume of verses, for—after enclosing a prose sketch and a poem

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[11] MS. volume, labelled "Student Class Notes, 1841-1850." Classes in which Legare's name appears as a member were those in Greek and Latin; French, Spanish, and German; chemistry and mathematics.

[12] "St. Mary's College, Baltimore," Baltimore *Sun,* Friday, July 21, 1843 (2, cols. 4-5). The other recipients of honorary certificates were Richard Pritchard and Edmund B. Marmillion, of New Orleans; George Lucas, of Baltimore; and J. Andrew White, of North Carolina. A condensed version of this account, consisting of a brief notice of Legaré's honors, appears under title, "Commencement of St. Mary's College, Baltimore," *The Charleston Courier,* Monday, July 24, 1843, (2, col. 5), wherein we learn that another Charlestonian, Robert de Laumant, had received the degree of master of arts.

The manuscript "Book of Degrees St. Mary's College," under entry for the commencement of July 18, 1843, significantly omits any mention of Legaré in its listing of the six students who received the A.B. degree, as does the newspaper account of the ceremony, "Annual Commencement at St. Mary's College," Baltimore *Sun,* July 19, 1843 (2, col. 3). These data are offered in order to refute a misstatement by Joseph John Legaré, in a letter of reply to W. G. Simms in 1859 (see below, n. 59), to the effect that his elder brother had "graduated" from St. Mary's.

[13] Shipping notice in *The Charleston Courier,* July 24, 1843 (2, col. 7). The vessel arrived from Wilmington, N. C., with the following passengers: D. Upman, F. Hillegar, H. C. Hyde, A. Head, J. M. Legare, W. C. Moore,

he wished to contribute to Simms' *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine*—the younger man concludes his epistle with this paragraph:

I owe you an apology for not having sent to you the manuscript vol you were so kind as to propose to overlook; the cause of my having failed to do so, was an opportunity which suddenly offered of sending it to Mr Audubon[14] to submit to the publishers, which I embraced at once as I did not know when so good a one would soon occur.

Whether Simms ever saw *Orta-Undis* in its manuscript state we do not know. That he esteemed the younger poet's work is known, however, not only by his inclusion of a Legaré poem in his miscellany, *The Charleston Book* (1845),[15] but by the fact that, on the outside of Legaré's letter to him, there is written, presumably in Simms' script: "a young writer of considerable talent."[16]

Just what "Mr Audubon" accomplished for Legaré with the publishers we can not say. Apparently not much, for two weeks after the Simms missive we find the young poet addressing the letter that follows to a prominent Philadelphia publishing house, presumably the same as that with which Audubon had influence.

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[14] Quite possibly this man was the celebrated Franco-American naturalist, John James Audubon (1785-1851), whose familiarity with Charleston began at least as early as 1831, when he first met the Reverend John Bachman (1790-1874), amateur naturalist and Lutheran pastor of St. John's Church, Charleston. Audubon's sons married Bachman's daughters, and the correspondence of the two men is voluminous. Some of it is published in [C. L. Bachman], *John Bachman, D.D., LL.D., Ph.D.* (Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1888), a volume which also reveals (200) that Bachman "contributed largely to the editorial columns of the *Southern Agriculturist*" from 1835 to 1840, and hence probably knew J. D. Legare personally. That Audubon knew of J. D. Legare and his magazine is evidenced in a letter the naturalist wrote from Charleston, May 4, 1840, to his son, Victor: "I have instituted a *third* agent here, named A. E. Miller No 46 East Bay . . . . he is the Agent of Mr Legaree [*sic*] whose periodical is taken by a great number of Gents from this City and neighbourhood." See Howard Corning, ed., *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840* (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1930), II, 267.

The publishing firm which "Mr Audubon" knew may well have been Carey & Hart, which in 1835 had reprinted volume I of Audubon's *Ornithological Biography*, the text of his famous *Birds of America* (1827-1838). See Francis H. Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist: A History of His Life and Time* (New York: D. Appleton, 1917), II, 403. By the period of J. M. Legare's letter to Simms, Audubon was residing at his estate, "Minnie's Land," on upper Manhattan Island, New York City. Legare himself had just returned to Charleston from Savannah, the preceding April 25, via the steam-packet *Gen. Clinch.* See "Passengers," *The Charleston Courier*, April 25, 1845 (2, col. 4).

[15] See below, p. 422, n. 19. After Legaré's death, Simms wrote to J. D. Legaré for factual data for a proposed sketch of the young poet. See my "Poet, Painter, and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July, 1944), 231, n. 76.

[16] Original in Special Collections, Columbia University Library, to which I am indebted for permission to quote from the manuscript. A negative photostat of the letter is now at the Duke University Library, and typescript copies are in possession of Prof. Jay B. Hubbell, Duke University, and the present writer. For originally guiding me to the letter, I am grateful to Dr. J. Albert Robbins, Duke University, who has cited the document in his "History of Graham's Magazine," 1947 (unpublished doctoral dissertation on file at the University of Pennsylvania library).

LEGARÉ TO CAREY AND HART, PUBLISHERS[17] *(1 page)*

Charleston. May 19. 1845

Gentlemen.

I submit the inclosed manuscript to your inspection, in order that you may judge whether you will find my offer worthy your attention. My proposal is simply that you accept the volume, and publish it at your own cost, and consequently, risk: To any profit resulting I am indifferent, as my desire is chiefly to thus obtain an acceptable offering to the sister, (an only one) to whom I have dedicated the work.[18] A *few* of the articles have been published in magazines, before. The title (I need not mention) is merely *"Belonging to the muse of verse" (Erato.)*. In regard to the sale of the volume, I think I may assure you, that it will meet with a ready sale here at the South where my friends are numerous; Of the North, you can best decide for yourselves. I believe it would be better to place the verses to 'my sister' *before* the uninteresting DuSaye.[19]

Awaiting your answer, I remain, gentlemen, very
Respectfully yours
JM Legaré

For whatever reason, Carey & Hart did not issue Legaré's little volume. (In passing, we might note that the title of the book, as finally published, was only a very slight improvement on that originally suggested by the poet, who, fortunately for bibliographers, also decided to lend his proper name to *Orta-Undis*,

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[17] Chamberlain Collection, Boston Public Library (erroneously declared to be in the Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library, in my "Poet, Painter and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI [July, 1944], 217, n. 10, where the letter here published in full is cited and partially quoted). After the division in 1829 of Mathew Carey's original publishing firm, one of his sons, Edward L. Carey, set up in business with Abraham Hart (Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher: A Study of American Literary Development*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1912, vii, n. 2). The Historical Society of Pennsylvania informs me that the Carey & Hart record books, 1830-1886, contain no further correspondence about Legare (R. N. Williams, director, to the writer, March 3, 1948). For a different approach from Bradsher's to one of America's important early publishers, readers are referred to Kenneth W. Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933).

[18] The verses entitled, "To My Very Dear Sister" [Frances Doughty Legaré, 1826-1897], formed the second poem in *Orta-Undis* (3-4), which was, however, dedicated to the author's wife, as follows: "To Her/Whose Virtues and Earnest Affection Are the Pride and/Happiness of My Life;/To the 'Sweetest Rose of Georgia,'/I Dedicate This Little Volume." The poem, "To the 'Sweetest Rose of Georgia,'" did not appear in *Orta-Undis* but in *The Literary World*, III (May 6, 1848), 266. Other verses directly reflecting the poet's love of his wife are: "To Anne," *Orta-Undis*, 65-68; "A Song for 'The Rose,'" *Southern Literary Gazette*, I (September 9, 1848), 137; "The Trouvere's Rose," *Southern Literary Gazette*, I (January 20, 1849), 281; "A Husband to a Wife," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI (January 1850), 6-7.

[19] "Du Saye. A Legend of the Congaree," which has all the earmarks of an early schoolboy effort and was wisely not retained by the poet in *Orta-Undis*, appeared in *The Charleston Book: A Miscellany in Prose and Verse* (Charleston, S. C.: Samuel Hart, Sr., 1845), 189-199, anonymously edited by the poet and novelist William Gilmore Simms, one of whose romances had been *The Kinsmen: or, The Black Riders of the Congaree* (Philadelphia, 1841, 2 v.). "Du Saye" is a verse example of that interest in the American Revolution in general and the campaigns of General Francis Marion in particular which reappeared in Legare's prose sketch, "A Revolutionary Incident," *Southern Literary Gazette* I (September 23, 1848), 154.

rather than use the fairly common nom-de-plume of "Erato.") Legaré's next recorded endeavor toward getting his verses into print took the form of a trip to New York, where in due course he was to become acquainted with the Clark brothers of *The Knickerbocker Magazine* and the Duyckinck brothers of *The Literary World.* There, under the present writing, we find him at a period I tenatively suggest as the autumn of 1846. Mention of his projected volume comes incidentally, in a brief note to the Reverend Rufus Wilmot Griswold. That gentleman's brow is, nowadays, crowned with a garland of henbane because of his outstanding disservices to the poet Poe. One modern critic, for example, refers to Griswold as that "literary pack-rat";[20] and the phrase is certainly, in part, deserved. On the other hand, a biographer reminds us that "an almost unfailing characteristic of his was his kindness, generosity, and courtesy toward those he liked. He delighted to assist the unknown to become known."[21] Whether the Reverend gentleman liked Legaré must remain a moot point, but as an active anthologizer and an individual prominent in literary circles, his attraction for the relatively "unknown" South Carolinian is as understandable as Thomas Powell's was to be. Richard Henry Stoddard has termed Griswold, for his day, "the chief herdsman of our Parnassian fold,"[22] and by 1856 Legaré's cultivation of the herdsman had borne fruit, since publication that year of the seventeenth edition of Griswold's celebrated anthology, *The Poets and Poetry of America* (first ed., 1842), revealed two of the Charlestonian's efforts rounded up in its coral.[23] But we are, at this point, some years prior to that date, and the poet is addressing the anthologizer, from New York, as follows:

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[20] Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Feminine Fifties* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940), 98.

[21] Jacob L. Neu, "Rufus Wilmot Griswold," *The University of Texas Bulletin*, October 8, 1925 (Studies in English, no. 5), 161. A full-length biography of Griswold has at last appeared in the work of Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943).

[22] Richard Henry Stoddard, *Recollections, Personal and Literary*, ed. Ripley Hitchcock (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1903), 58.

[23] Rufus W. Griswold, ed., *The Poets and Poetry of America*, 17th Edition (Philadelphia, Pa.: Parry & McMillan, 1856), 577-578. Also in the edition issued at New York under the supervision of Richard Henry Stoddard (N. Y.: James Miller, 1873, 577-578). A brief paragraph of approbatory comment precedes the editor's selection of two poems by Legaré: "Thanatokallos" (Greek for "Beauty in Death"), which had originally appeared in *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, XXXIV (September 1849), 204-206—and which was reprinted in full by editor Paul Hamilton Hayne in the obituary on Legare appearing in *Russell's Magazine* at Charleston, S. C., V (July 1859), 370-372—and "Maize in Tassel," which had been published first in *The Literary World* at New York, III (May 13, 1848), 287, and secondly, less than a week later, in the *Charleston Mercury*, May 18, 1848 (2, col. 1). Since these two poems, neither of which had appeared in *Orta-Undis*, are among Legaré's best, Griswold's taste was good; but his prefatory paragraph of criticism is so similar to the review of *Orta-Undis* in *The Literary World* (see below, p. 430, n. 44) as to suggest that Griswold had

LEGARÉ TO RUFUS WILMONT GRISWOLD (1815-1857)[24]

(1 page)

NYork [Autumn, 1846]

My dear Sir

Your note, conveying me a disappointment, reached me in Aiken, but I delayed replying, in the hope of doing so from your more immediate neighborhood. It is rather late in season, to visit NYork, but I have found the difficulty common I suppose to all authors when the surprising complacence with which most of us begin, has given place to more earnestness and better ambition,—that of reducing a MS vol to a shape less likely to afflict the writer with selfcontempt and contrition upon its appearance in print; and after all, it is with only a third of this book completed, that I propose waiting upon a publisher.

I need scarcely say there are few things I anticipate with so much pleasure, as a personal acquaintance with yourself.[25]

Believe me sincerely and respectfully yours

J. M. Legaré

Revd R. W. Griswold

But with the New York firm Legaré likewise met with no success. His objective was only obtained, at last, farther north still, in the literary capital of the country, Boston. There, by November, 1847, the printers, Thurston Torry & Co., were at work on *Orta-Undis* for the publishing house of William D. Ticknor. Five hundred copies were printed, to cost Ticknor 20c

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lifted his conclusions bodily from those of the weekly. It should be noted in passing that the Legaré selections by Griswold probably first appeared in the 16th Edition of *Poets and Poetry* (Philadelphia, 1855), which was the last revised by Griswold before his death and was appreciably expanded over the earlier editions (see Joy Bayless, *Rufus Wilmot Griswold*, 243-244). I have not, however, been able to consult a copy of the 16th Edition.

Likewise in 1856 the brothers Duyckinck, in the first edition of their rival anthology to Griswold's, the *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York: Scribner's, 1856, II, 720), reprinted "Amy," with the remark that *Orta-Undis* possessed "delicacy of sentiment and a certain scholastic refinement." An earlier version of "Amy" had appeared in the gift annual, *The Opal: A Pure Gift for the Holydays*, ed. John Keese (New York: J. C. Riker, 1847), 189-190. It may have been indirectly owing to Griswold that "Amy" appeared therein, since Griswold had himself inaugurated the *Opal* series in 1844; and the 1847 editor, Keese, a New York bookseller and auctioneer, was a personal friend of Griswold's (see Joy Bayless, *op. cit.*, 33, 83). The New York Public Library copy of the *Catalogue of the Entire Private Library of the Late Rufus W. Griswold* (New York, May 1859) reveals that Griswold did not possess a copy of *Orta-Undis*.

[24] Griswold Collection, Boston Public Library (first cited, and partially quoted, in my "Poet, Painter, and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI [July, 1944], 217). As of the suggested date of this letter, Griswold himself was resident in Philadelphia. Honor C. McCusker began a bibliography of Griswold's MS. correspondence in the Boston Public Library, where the great bulk of it reposes, and has completed the H's in the list of recipients of Griswold's letters. See McCusker, "The Correspondence of Rufus Wilmot Griswold," *More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, XVI (March-June, 1941), 105-116, 152-156, 180-196, 286-289, and XVIII (February, September, 1943), 67-68, 322-333.

[25] A MS. letter in the Griswold Collection, dated May 31, [1846], from Legaré at Aiken, S. C., to Griswold indicates that Legaré has not yet made Griswold's acquaintance in person. The letter is published in full in *Passages from the Correspondence and Other Papers of Rufus W. Griswold*, ed. W. M. Griswold (Cambridge, Mass.: W. M. Griswold, 1898), 230. The epistle was written by Legaré upon belatedly hearing of Griswold's five-month sojourn in Charleston (December 1845-May 1846), of which city Griswold's second wife, the Jewess Charlotte Myers, was a native. It is perhaps worth noting that the second Mrs. Griswold's Charleston attorney was the one-time legal mentor of Legaré, J. L. Petigru.

apiece and to retail at 50c; and a 10% commission account was risked by the author, not the publisher. In due course a clerk wrote, at the bottom of a page in the Ticknor cost-books: "Pub. Feby 1848 for J. M. Legare of Augusta."[26] Legaré's wife, Anne, who outlived him by three years, was a native of Augusta, Ga.[27] A few months later the poet was presumably back at Aiken, where the firm sent him the following letter:

WILLIAM D. TICKNOR & CO. TO LEGARÉ[28] *(1 page)*

Boston May 5 1848

J. M. Legare Esq
Dear Sir

In compliance with your request of Apl 14 we have caused to be ship'd to Mr. John Russell Charleston S. C. 150 cops of "Orta Und etc" to Mr. Chs. E. Grenville of Augusta Ga. 150 cops Do—[29] the first sent direct to Charleston, the last, care of Brigham & Kelly, Savannah,[30] to be forwd. also, a good supply shew Bills. We have written them that you will give instructions in relation to their distribution to other booksellers.

We have requested them to pay over the proceeds of sale direct to you, as this will probably be the most convenient for all parties. We hope they will find a ready sale. We have advertized the vol. quite extensively,[31] but as yet have not had much call for it.

Yours Very Truly
W D Ticknor & Co

Aiken
S. C.

[26] These data are furnished by courtesy of Professor Warren S. Tryon (see p. 417, n. 3, above).

[27] An obituary notice in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, Tuesday, January 21, 1862 (2, col. 5), reads as follows: "Departed this life, on Saturday, January 18, 1862, Mrs. Annie Legaré, relict of J. M. Legaré, late of Aiken, S. C. She was beloved in life; in death lamented." The MS. "Parish Register" of St. Thaddeus Episcopal Church, Aiken, lists Mrs. Legaré's burial as having occurred January 19, and also reveals that she had been a communicant on October 6, 1850. (Her name is here spelled "Anna.") The same source tells us that the poet himself was a communicant on September 2, 1848, and that he was confirmed on June 29 of the same year (data provided by Charles M. Seymour, Jr., letter to the writer, January 18, 1947).

[28] Original document, here published for the first time, is in the MS. "Letter Books of Ticknor and Fields, Domestic," I (May 5, 1848), 6-7. Houghton Library, Harvard University. For forwarding me photostats of both this and the letter cited in n. 32, below, I am indebted to Miss Carolyn Jakeman. (Photocopies of both letters are now in the Manuscript Department, Duke University Library.)

[29] The celebrated Charleston book-seller, John Russell, of 256 King St., is too well-known for comment here. He was the publisher of *Russell's Magazine*, and went out of business in October 1859, the year of Legaré's death. He advertised *Orta-Undis* in an announcement of "Recent Publications," *The Charleston Mercury*, June 8, 1848 (3, col. 4).

Charles E. Grenville was an Augusta book-seller and publisher of *Grenville's Georgia and South Carolina Almanac*. A typical advertisement by him is that in the Augusta *Daily Constitutionalist*, June 2, 1848 (1, col. 2). He also advertised in *The Charleston Mercury*. Grenville's competitor was George A. Oates & Co., of Broad St., which store was utilized by Legaré in the spring of 1848 as a pick-up point for the manuscript of a literary project which he wished his acquaintance and patron, former governor James Hammond of South Carolina, to call for and examine. Legare's letter, dated Aiken, September 6 [1848], is cited in my "Poet, Painter and Inventor," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (July 1944), 229.

[30] Brigham & Kelly was a Savannah firm of commission merchants and shipping agents, and was the local representative of the Protection Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn. (courtesy of Lilla M. Hawes, Georgia Historical Society, to the writer, March 25, 1948).

[31] If they did, the advertising must have taken the form of display posters ("Shew Bills")

With 150 copies going to each of the Southern cities, perhaps Ticknor retained all the remaining 200 for sale at Boston. If so, the result was not impressive. A year later the firm advised its author:

TICKNOR & CO. TO LEGARÉ[32] *(1 page)*

Boston, May 19, 49

J. M. Legare Esq
Dear Sir,

Your fav. of 7th inst came duly to hand—Annexed herewith we have your statement of a/c sales &c of your Poems. We regret not having been able to sell more here, but can assure you it has not been for want of proper effort on our part. But poetry is always a very uncertain article in the market. We hope you have good accounts of those sent to Charleston & Augusta.

The Amt due you as for a/c. is $23.59 for wh. your Dft. at sight will be duly honored.

YRS Truly
W. D. Ticknor & Co

Aiken So. Ca.

Probably the poet, despite his confident assurance to Carey & Hart in 1845, came to realize that the "accounts," at least in his home town of Charleston, were far from good. Though Ludwig Lewisohn, writing in 1903, could declare that *Orta-Undis* was "to be met with quite frequently,"[33] the present-day state historian of South Carolina, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., recalls that what eventuated was that many copies of the little volume had found their way to the second-hand bookstore of John O'Mara, at 78 Queen Street, who went out of business about 1900. At that time, Mr. Salley states, the store "had at least a hundred [copies of *Orta-Undis*] that had never been used."[34] He adds that the "second hand book dealers, the late Prof. Snowden[35] and I had a great time with what he [O'Mara] left behind. As each of us

or pamphlet throw-aways, for Boston newspaper columns are quite close-mouthed about *Orta-Undis*. The book firm of James Munroe & Co., at 134 Washington St., opposite School St., ran an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Traveller* for April 18, 1848 (1, col. 2), stating it had received for sale the following: ". . . Legare's Poems, 16mo/ The Princess, by Tennyson, 16mo/ Evangeline, by Longfellow, 16mo . . . ." A similar advertisement, likewise entitled "Recent Publications," was placed by the same firm in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* for April 24 (3, col. 4).

[32] Original document, here published for the first time, is in the MS. "Letter Books of Ticknor and Fields, Domestic," I (May 19, 1849), 447. Houghton Library, Harvard University Library. For permission to publish both this and the letter cited in n. 28, above, I am indebted to Harvard University Library.

[33] Lewisohn, "J. M. Legare," in his series, "The Books We Have Made," *The Sunday News and Courier*, Charleston, August 16, 1903 (20, cols. 4-5).

[34] A. S. Salley, Jr., to the writer (July 2, 1947).

[35] Yates Snowden (1858-1933), professor of history at the University of South Carolina from 1905 till his death.

got a copy of *Orta-Undis* before he died, the second hand book dealers got the Legarés that were left."[36] Today *Orta-Undis* is a rather rare volume. The present writer has ascertained that fourteen libraries possess one or more copies; and while the disposition is spread rather evenly up and down the Atlantic seaboard, and has extended even to the British Museum in London, it is significant that public collections in the Atlanta-Augusta area do not, on the record, contain a copy.[37] From the standpoint of sales, therefore, Legaré was justified in referring to *Orta-Undis,* in his letter to Powell, as "my unlucky bit of Latinity."

II

Legaré was not justified, however, in telling Powell that, "With the exception of scarce three poems I am ashamed of the contents already," for the contemporary critical response, which the poet deprecatingly described as lenient, was more favorable than that. Nine reviews and five brief notices of the volume have been uncovered, ranging in time from April, 1848, to October, 1849, and occuring in cities up and down the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Charleston and over at New Orleans. Of the number only two could be termed unfavorable. Both of these appeared in Boston publications. Writing in *The Christian Examiner,* the Harvard student, William Henry Hurlbut, waited until September before discussing *Orta-Undis* in a tone that was slighting but not wholly condemnatory:

This is a collection of sufficiently graceful and musical verses, by a young Carolinian, a kinsman of the late Hugh S. Legaré.

[36] Salley to the writer (July 7, 1947).

[37] The Union Catalog at Emory University does not list *Orta-Undis* (Robert North, Jr., reference Librarian, Emory University Library, to the writer, February 27, 1948). The Union Catalog at the Library of Congress lists the following institutions as possessing copies: (1) American Antiquarian Society, (2) Library of Congress, (3) Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway), (4) University of Pennsylvania Library, (5) University of South Carolina Library. In addition, the present writer has ascertained through correspondence that copies are in the following institutions: (6) the British Museum; (7) Charleston Library Society, three copies, all in the Joseph J. Legaré Collection (the poet's younger brother), bequeathed to the Society in 1902 by Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, to whom Joseph Legaré had left his books; (8) The College of Charleston, given to its library in 1900 by the Chrestomatic Literary Society, to which college group it had been presented by Dr. Henry M. Bruns, professor of ancient languages, 1871-1899; (9) Duke University Library; (10) Harvard University Library, two copies, one presented to the Library in 1853 by Professor Francis Bowen, the other from the library of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and given to Harvard in 1893 (copy contains two Longfellow signatures, one dated 1848); (11) Henry E. Huntington Library, (12) New York Public Library (the fly-leaf of this copy is inscribed: "Presented to Edwin Richard[s?] by the Author—To Miss Carrie Crumpton by ER." Library officials could not identify Richard. Paul North Rice, Chief of Reference, to the writer, February 25, 1948); (13) Bieber Poetry Collection, University of Texas Library; (14) Yale University Library; (15) College of the Holy Cross Library, Worchester.

Its most remarkable peculiarity is, that it takes its title from a Latin poem, in a monkish measure, given at the end of the book. There is, apparently, no especial reason why the verses should have been published, neither is there any objection to their being read now that they are. They are, in fact, very ephemeral productions; but the writer shows an active and thoughtful mind, and is evidently too sensible a person to have staked his fortunes on this single cast.[38]

The *Boston Daily Advertiser* had, in a brief notice, also remarked the poet's relationship to his distinguished cousin,[39] while the *Evening Transcript* delivered itself of the following:

From Ticknor & Co. we have a dainty looking volume entitled "Orta Undis, and other Poems" by J. M. Legare. In glancing it through we are reminded at every page of Tennyson, Leigh Hunt and Longfellow, who would seem to have been the writer's favorite models, though now and then, we find something that calls to mind a passage from Herrick, Herbert and other quaint writers. Mr. Legaré's is a remarkably composite style. His fancy seems to be constantly led into imitative affectations by a too suggestive memory. His book gives tokens of scholarship, a genial love of natural beauty and a true sense of the poetical in sentiment if not in expression.[40]

The *Boston Daily Times*, on the other hand, sang quite a different tune. Though its notice was only half so long as that of the *Transcript*, it was twice as enthusiastic. Indeed, two works of a much more popular appeal—T. S. Arthur's *Love in a Cottage* and Henry W. Herbert's *Pierre the Partizan: A Tale of the Mexican Marches*—were merely cited, while of *Orta-Undis* the paper had this to say:

This is a valuable collection of Poems by J. M. Legaré. . . . The character of the poetry is high, and the sentiment pure, sweet,

[38] *The Christian Examiner*, XLV (September 1848), 306. The review, signed "H——t," is identified as that of W. H. Hurlbut (1827-1895) in William Cushing, *Index to the Christian Examiner, Volumes 1-87, 1824-1869* (Boston: J. S. Cushing, 1879), p. 66. Hurlbut, who was later to become editor-in-chief of *The New York World*, was himself a native of Charleston, S. C., and at the time of his review of *Orta-Undis* was studying at the Harvard Divinity School. (For most of these data I am much indebted to Miss Frances Pedigo, of Chapel Hill, N. C., who is preparing an exhaustive study of the literary criticism in *The Examiner*.)

[39] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1848 (2, col. 3). The Attorney General, and acting Secretary of State, of the United States, Hugh Swinton Legaré, died at Boston, June 20, 1843. A biography is that by Linda Rhea, *Hugh Swinton Legaré: A Charleston Intellectual* (Chapel, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1934). J. M. Legaré's elegy, "On the Death of a Kinsman" (*Orta-Undis*, 63-64), is dated June 21, at which time its author was concluding his year of study at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and may be found conveniently reprinted in Edd W. Parks, ed., *Southern Poets* (American Book Co., 1936), 93-99, together with "To a Lily," "Haw-Blossoms," "Flowers in Ashes," and "The Reaper."

[40] *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 13, 1848 (2, col. 2). The volume was also cited in "New Publications Received," *The North American Review*, LXVII (July, 1848), 263, where it is described as 12mo.

and elevated. The volume contains some of the rarest gems that we have ever witnessed.[41]

Though the winds of criticism had blown rather coolly on the young poet at Boston, as we move south toward New York City the atmosphere becomes distinctly balmier. That popular monthly, *The Knickerbocker Magazine,* gave only a few sentences to *Orta-Undis,* but they were warming indeed:

Mr. Legaré is a true poet . . . who reflects honor upon the literature of the South. He does not obtrude his claims upon the public, nor consider himself as *the* "Southern author," par excellence; but he does far better; he writes such poetry as *"The Reaper,"*

which "The Old Knick" then proceeded to quote in full.[42] The weekly *Literary World,* edited by the brothers Duyckinck and Charles Fenno Hoffman—a journal that was to publish four of Legaré's poems in 1848 and 1849, and a publication of which the poet himself was highly commendatory—was almost equally favorable in its estimate. It employed the appearance of *Orta-Undis* as an excuse to castigate the widely popular taste for spurious, sentimental, so-called love poetry, in contrast to which the sincerity of Legaré's lyricism was held up for approval. "We want," asserted the reviewer, "a Burns of our own in this country. A hearty, masculine, truthful poet of the affections. Tennyson-ism and Haynes Bailey-ism [*sic*],[43] either of them well enough in itself, make a bad graft upon our native stock of Sentiment," a sentiment both pseudo-emotional and pseudo-intellectual, "the spawn of egotism vivified upon a German novel." On the contrary, a Burns would sing the nation manly, bracing verses. "And meanwhile, many will accept with pleasure the

[41] *Boston Daily Times,* April 14, 1848 (2, col. 5).

[42] *The Knickerbocker Magazine,* XXXII (August, 1948), 179. Reviewing an issue of *The Southern Literary Gazette* in its July number, the *Knickerbocker* had declared: "The 'Gazette' bids fair to do much toward extending the literature of the South. We hope often to hear through its columns from Mr. Legaré and Mr. [Henry Rootes] Jackson. Both these gentlemen are true poets. Their verse is quite a refreshing exception to the 'words, words' which have passed for 'poetry' and which were at one time 'indigenous voluminously' from certain prolific sources in that region" (*Knickerbocker,* XXXII [July, 1848], 85). Jackson who became an army general in the War with Mexico, was a journalist on the editorial staff of the *Savannah Daily Georgian,* and a native of Athens. In 1849 he was made a judge of the eastern circuit of Georgia, and a year later he published his *Tallulah, and Other Poems* (Savannah, Ga.: John M. Cooper, 1850), the title poem of which celebrates the same well-known Tallulah Falls in White County, western Georgia, which are also the subject of Legaré's "Tallulah" (*Orta-Undis,* 59-62). Jackson's best-known poem, "The Red Old Hills of Georgia," appeared in *Tallulah.*

[43] Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797-1839) was a prolific English versifier much reprinted in America.

not unhealthy and graceful Sapphics of our young countrymen like Legaré." The critic felt that " 'Love' and 'Nature' are the favorite themes of Mr. Legaré, whose graceful mind appears to be braced with a pervading religious feeling." He then quoted all but the first two stanzas of "Loquitur Diana" ("Diana Speaks"), and concluded: "We find in other of Mr. Legaré's verses, a spirit of chivalrous feeling and manly tenderness which gives promise of something very delightful from his pen, when its vigor shall be more matured."[44]

The elegantly got up and much admired *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* in its brief review, had some of the casualness of tone that was to mark the words of *The Christian Examiner,* yet *Holden's* was more decided in its favorable augury for Legaré's future. Moreover, it quoted five stanzas from "Loquitur Diana." "The distinguishing qualities of Mr. Legare's poetry," declared this periodical,

> are chasteness of sentiment, classical tone, and correctness. It is such poetry as a well educated young man, of good habits and good talents might write; but it does not contain those flashes of genius in the shape of original turns of thought which at once impress the reader with the presence of a new and true poet. There is certainly nothing in Mr. Legaré's poetry to cause one to think he is not a poet, but then there is nothing to induce the belief that he is. We must wait for his next volume, before we can judge accurately of his powers, but the presumption is that he will more than sustain the good impression which he has created in this his first volume.[45]

At Richmond, editor John R. Thompson's *Southern Literary Messenger,* which during the years 1847-1856 was to publish eight of Legaré's verses, gave *Orta-Undis* the lead article in its book-review section for the June issue.[46] The *Messenger* echoed *The Literary World* in seeing Legaré under two guises, as a nature poet and as a poet of love; and the appearance of the volume in the same season with Henry Longfellow's *Evangeline*

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[44] *The Literary World,* III (May 13, 1848), 283-284.
[45] *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* I (June, 1848), 375-376.
[46] "Notices of New Works," *Southern Literary Messenger,* XIV (June 1848), 388-389. Eight years later the *Messenger's* esteem for Legaré had grown. Commenting on the recent publication of William J. Grayson's propaganda verse, *The Hireling and the Slave,* the magazine asserted that its appearance only added to the refutation the South was giving the North in the latter's claim that belles-lettres could not flourish coevally with slavery, a claim which Northern critics were making "in the face of Legare, Wilde, Pinkney, Poe, Tucker, Simms, Meek, the Cookes, Miss Hawes—indeed of a host of the most popular and successful essayists, novelists and poets that the country has produced" (*SLM,* XXIII [August, 1856], 155).

prompted the reviewer to a nationalistic plea for the practice of greater literary patriotism in this country. "We want," said he, "no epics of a conventional world, no madrigals of moonshine. The literature of America should be marked by a distinctive home feeling . . . ." Instead, our poets unperceptively write rimes about foreign skies, when those in the United States are just as blue. "The same stars are set in the heavens that the Chaldeans saw," the reviewer reminded his readers, and continued:

> These reflections have been suggested by the modest little volume before us. We are glad to recognize in Mr. Legaré a true worshipper of nature, a genuine poet of the South, whose healthy and graceful verses reflect the very features of her landscapes. In every descriptive poem we have an exquisite little picture, radiant with all the hues of the Southern sky.

As a good example, he quoted "The Reaper," and four stanzas from "A May Morn" (lines 1-8, 17-24) which he thought "highly consonant to nature."

On the young author as a love poet, the reviewer had this to say:

> Mr. Legaré is no mean poet of the affections. He does not indeed embalm in anapaests the heartless sentimentalism of an artificial society, nor does he, with senseless egotism, lay bare his own heart to our gaze, but he sings of those delights and regrets which have . . . set apart forever the love-songs of Burns.

Since "we regard the poems in the present volume, rather as affording promise of what Mr. Legaré *will* do, than as enduring evidences of his power," the critic decided not to quote any verses to prove the thesis. He then made a few minor criticisms—of an obscurity here, a needless inversion there—and in conclusion declared: "We shall look with great interest to his literary efforts, feeling assured that he will yet achieve something of permanent fame for himself and Southern Literature."

Down in South Carolina, the poet's home town produced two reactions to his book, both favorable. Sandwiching its comment between two notices of equal length—one on the expansion of the Camden Branch railroad, the other on the establishment of military hospitals at Pass Christian by the admired General Twigs—*The Charleston Mercury* had this to say of *Orta-Undis*:

We are indebted to the author for a copy of the above work, and have perused his modest little offering with great satisfaction. There is in it much genuine poetry, and we take pleasure in commending it to our friends as a book abounding in fine sentiment and strongly marked with the inspiration of the muse.[47]

The *Southern Quarterly Review,* one of the better Southern magazines, gave a one-paragraph outline of *Orta-Undis* in a discussion of recent verse which is eminently judicial in tone. Though the magazine commented on the slenderness of his volume, Legaré fared well:

He has evidently not seated himself to his task; not deliberately taken up his pen; but merely caught up the overflow of his fancy and preserved it as a proof, or promise, of what might issue from the proper unsealing of his fountains. And there is considerable promise. The poems before us are full of instances of rare felicity of phrase, happy turns of thought, analogies equally sweet and curious, and fine moralities that crown the verse, at its close, with a sudden surprise and beauty. His fancy is very delicate; his command of language considerable; and his tastes find provocation to life and utterance, from the casual encounter with wood, lake or forest scene.

As a good example of these generalizations, the *Review* quoted "The Reaper" in full.[48]

In Georgia, three periodicals, from as many cities, responded to the appearance of *Orta-Undis.* Most significant of the three were the comments in the *Southern Literary Gazette,* at Athens, presumably by its editor, William C. Richards, who in 1848-49 was to accept a prose sketch and four poems by Legaré. Because a volume of good Southern verse was so rare, said the reviewer, "it was with kind and thankful feelings toward the author that we opened his little volume and glanced eagerly over its dainty pages." What he found did not wholly please him, however, and he pointed this out in strictures which contrast interestingly with the opinion of the *Southern Quarterly Review:* "Mr. Legaré's poetry is marked by a studied quaintness— amounting to a positive affectation, to which we are disposed to object . . . . We discover them in the structure of his stanzas—in the frequent

[47] *The Charleston Mercury,* June 3, 1848 (2, col. 2). For a full treatment of this newspaper, see Granville T. Prior, "A History of the Charleston Mercury, 1822-1852," doctoral dissertation in history (unpublished), Harvard University Library, 1947.

[48] "Recent American Poets," *Southern Quarterly Review,* XVI (October 1849), 228-229.

inversions of his style—in numerous obscurities of sense—and, we add moreover, in occasional departures from the established laws of verse-making." Nevertheless, the critic felt that Legaré's tone "is lofty yet tender," and that his verses have "a grace and delicacy about them, which cannot fail to charm the reader." The volume "contains true poetry—the indigenous growth of our own sunny land." Quite in opposition to the *Boston Evening Transcript,* this periodical found that

> Mr. Legaré's poetry has certainly the charm and merit of originality. He is no servile imitator; and in despite of a few mannerisms, he writes well and worthily. We hope he will attempt higher themes than those which have hitherto engrossed his verse. His muse should soar—for it is not in rustic haunts and shady nooks that she will find her truest inspiration.[49]

Of the poems, "Haw-Blossoms," "A May Morn," and "The Reaper" were preferred; and the editor reminded his readers that he had already published the last-named in his *Southern Eclectic.*[50]

Across the State in Augusta, Mrs. Legaré's home town, the *Daily Constitutionalist* noted that the volume, "though of modest exterior, is of fair and neat typography." The negative portion of this review echoed the *Evening Transcript* rather clearly: "The style of the author is peculiar, and not above criticism. It is not free from a stiffness which may be the fruit of an effort *to adopt a style* from others . . . . We have fancied that we could trace imitations of the quaintnesses of Longfellow, and of Poe, which added nothing to the intrinsic beauties of our author's conceptions. But we take no pleasure in seeking blemishes upon gems of pure and beautiful thought," because the *Constitutionalist* felt Legaré's verses proved him possessed "of talents and cultivation of a superior order." It noted that the poet was "imbued with a deep love of nature," and quoted lines 38-54 from "Ornithologoi" ("Bird Voices"), which "may not inaptly picture his inner-self." The review concluded with a full printing of "Flowers in Ashes," preceded by this valedictory:

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[49] *Southern Literary Gazette,* I (August 26, 1848), 127. Three months later, Richards, in advising a Charleston minor poet, Augustin Louis Taveau (1828-1886), not to forward poems for possible sale in the Athens area, declared that he did so "on account of the want of interest in & *taste for* such brochures in this place. Of Legaré's Poems & of 'Poems by a Charlestonian' we can make no sale at all—I am ashamed to say all this of Athens but so it is." Richards to Taveau, Athens, December 15th, 1848 (Taveau Papers, Duke University Library).

[50] For this period, no such publication is listed in Bertram H. Flanders, *Early Georgia*

. . . we would most heartily use the language of cheering and encouragement. We would say to the author, speed on, "*Sic iter ad astra.*" With your natural endowments, ripe scholarship and refined tastes, if life and health be spared thee, the goal may yet be won.[51]

Tuberculosis, which had struck at the poet once already—the preceding summer in Augusta—would spare him his life and health for eleven more years. This summer of 1848 it would be just as well if he were spared the sight of the *Savannah Daily Georgian's* comment on his book. The editor, having on his desk a few of the new volumes that had just come in to John M. Cooper, a local bookseller, ticketed *Orta-Undis* as follows:

A modest volume of fugitive pieces, printed on better paper and with better type than such pieces generally are. Some leisure hour we will glance over them.[52]

To a former fellow student at the College of Charleston, James D. B. DeBow, now become an influential Southern publisher, Legaré sent a copy of *Orta-Undis*. In his own *Review*, currently located at New Orleans, the editor commented on the gift volume as follows:

Many of the pieces have much merit, and they are all characterized by a true poetic fervor and tenderness. We knew the author in more youthful times; and it was our fortune to share the instructions of a common *alma mater*. He had even then begun to assume position.

DeBow then quoted in its entirety "On the Death of a Kinsman" —the poet's tribute to Hugh Swinton Legaré—"which we have always thought very fine."[53]

Magazines: Literary Periodicals to 1865 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1944). *The Southern Eclectic*, edited by J. H. Fitten at Augusta, Ga., ran in the years 1853-1854.

[51] Augusta *Daily Constitutionalist*, June 2, 1848 (2, col. 4). The writer is much indebted to N. A. Cleveland, the newspaper librarian of the University of Texas Library, for a typescript copy of the *Constitutionalist* review (Cleveland to the writer, March 9, 1848).

[52] Savannah *Daily Georgian*, June 5, 1848. Cooper ran advertisements of *Orta-Undis* for some weeks in the *Georgian* (information courtesy of Mrs. Lilla M. Hawes, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, to the writer, March 12, 1948) and for a few days in the rival Savannah *Daily Republican*, June 7, 1848 (1, col. 4), in company with notices of the complete installments of Dickens' new novel, *Dombey and Son*, and Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*.

[53] *DeBow's Review*, VI (August 1848), 159-160. Two years later Legaré, under the guise of reviewing and condensing a recent travel book in Spanish, wrote an adventure romance of Guatemala for DeBow: "Suppositious Reviews," *DeBow's Review*, IX (August, October 1850), 158-164, 392-397, and X (January-March 1851), 13-20, 162-165, 257-265. For a useful sketch, see Ottis C. Skipper, "J. D. B. DeBow, the Man," *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 404-423. Skipper, who went through the DeBow papers thoroughly, reports that to the best of his knowledge they contain no Legaré correspondence (O. C. Skipper, department of history, Mississippi State College for Women, to the writer, April 23, 1948). Inquiry of the Duke University Library, where some of the DeBow papers now repose, brings a negative answer as to Legaré items.

III

If we summarize the contemporary critical opinion of *Orta-Undis,* what do we find? About as typical a mixture of dicta as might be expected (critics are human). Four writers declared that Legaré was obviously a nature poet. One said that this was not so. Two reviewers labelled him an imitative writer. One denied it. Two found Legaré a love poet, while two more murmured about obscurities of meaning. The implication behind nearly all the reviews was favorable, but five critics also pointed out that the poet was, thus far, only trying his wing. To soar to pride of place in the literary firmament he must write again, and write better. This was undeniably so, for a single title to a poet's credit is scarcely sufficient to establish his name. Moreover, it is unfortunately true that critical favor does not guarantee popular favor, especially in the field of verse; and, as we have seen, the sales of *Orta-Undis* could not have been pleasing to the author. While it is a pity, therefore, that Legaré did not collect his subsequent magazine contributions into a second volume, it is, corollary-wise, a testimonial to his artistry that *Orta-Undis* alone has carried his reputation down through an even one hundred and one years. For as Lewisohn points out, "Only a pretty thorough reading of Legaré's Carolinian contemporaries can serve to reveal the full measure of his difference from them."[54] During the poet's lifetime, at least three anthologists—Simms at Charleston in 1845, Griswold and the Duyckincks at New York City in 1856—had been aware of this difference. After the turn of the century,[55] other students of Southern verse have become increasingly aware of it.

With the advent of the new century in 1900 came the publication of Edmund C. Stedman's *American Anthology,* containing three Legaré poems: "Ahab-Mohammed," "To a Lily," "Amy."[56] One year later Weber's *Selections from the Southern Poets* seemed to echo the Stedman taste with its inclusion of "Ahab-Moham-

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[54] Ludwig Lewisohn, "James Matthew [*sic*] Legare," *Library of Southern Literature,* VII, 3191. See above, p. 418, n. 4.

[55] In 1892 "To a Lily" was reprinted in *A Library of American Literature,* ed. Edmund C. Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson (New York: Charles L. Webster), VIII, 149-150. There is no critical comment, but a brief biographical summary (XI, 514) gives the publication date of *Orta-Undis* as 1847 [*sic*], and commits other errors.

[56] Stedman, ed., "James Matthew [*sic*] Legare," *An American Anthology, 1787-1900* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), 266-267. Brief biographical notes on p. 806 repeat the 1847 error for *Orta-Undis,* and others.

med" and "To a Lily" once more.[57] In 1903, at Charleston, the poet's reputation underwent a tiny local renaissance that was both critical and biographical. In August of that year Ludwig Lewisohn gave *Orta-Undis* a sympathetic and perceptive appraisal, during which he declared that Legaré "appears to me to have been the most considerable poet, with the exception of Timrod and Hayne, that South Carolina can show."[58] The following November A. S. Salley, Jr., published a brief but valuable factual sketch, including the transcript of a letter of condolence to Legaré's father by the novelist, William Gilmore Simms, on the occasion of the poet's death.[59] In 1905 William Peterfield Trent, the well-known Southern scholar resident at New York, reprinted "to a Lily" and "Haw-Blossoms" in his *Southern Writers*, with the comment:

> This little book, although it contains scarcely a single poem that is satisfactory as a whole, and although it shows that Legaré had probably felt the influence of Tennyson, gives clear proof that the young poet was a true artist and lover of nature. In careful technique Legaré was superior to most if not all of his Southern predecessors save Poe . . .[60]

Giving a few lines of comment to the poet in *A History of Southern Literature* (1906), Carl Holliday asserted that the best-known of his titles were "To a Lily" and "Ahab-Mohammed."[61] The present writer would award second place both to the latter poem and to "The Reaper,"[62] despite the fact that in 1908 the

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[57] William L. Weber, ed., *Selections from the Southern Poets* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), 115-118. Biographical notes in the Introduction (xxxviii) are copied from the Stedman-Hutchinson *Library* and hence repeat the 1847 error for *Orta-Undis*. Weber taught English at Emory College, in Georgia, and designed his volume as a Freshman poetry textbook.

[58] Lewisohn, "J. M. Legare," in his critical series, "The Books We Have Made," Charleston, S. C., *Sunday News and Courier*, August 16, 1903 (20, cols. 4-5).

[59] A. S. Salley, Jr., "James Mathewes Legare," Historical Department, Charleston *Sunday News and Courier*, November 1, 1903 (1, cols. 3-5). The Simms letter is dated Charleston, July 24, 1859. Salley also reprints an undated reply by the poet's brother, Joseph John Legaré, on behalf of his father, John D. Legaré, who was suffering from an incapacitating eye infection at the time. An obituary notice on Joseph J. Legaré in the *Sunday News and Courier* for December 8, 1901 (8, col. 5), reveals that funeral services were held that afternoon at 1 P.M. at 039 Meeting St., interment in Magnolia Cemetery. Joseph's death occurred on December 6.

[60] W. P. Trent, ed., "James Matthews [*sic*] Legare," *Southern Writers* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), 291-292.

[61] Carl Holliday, *A History of Southern Literature* (New York and Washington, D. C.: Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 219-220. In Holliday's *Three Centuries of Southern Poetry (1607-1907)*, Nashville and Dallas: Publishing House of M. E. Church, South, 1908, 130-132, he reprints "Ahab-Mohammed" and "To a Lily," noting of the latter (247): "With its dainty conceits and delicate phrasing, this poem serves as another good example of the lighter poetry of the South." The author compares it to E. C. Pinkney's "A Health" (1824) and P. P. Cooke's "Florence Vane" (1840). Holliday gets Legaré middle name correct but ascribes *Orta-Undis* to 1847.

[62] On the basis of my researches to date, admittedly inconclusive, I cite the five following titles as Legare's most frequently reprinted (wholly or in part) poems: "To a Lily," 12 times; "The Reaper" and "Ahab-Mohammed," 6 each; "Haw-Blossoms," 5; "On the Death

editor of a volume of verses for young people decided that "Ahab-Mohammed" belonged among the *Poems Children Love.*[63] In 1909 the president of Wofford College, contributing an article on verse to *The South in the Building of the Nation,* quoted the first paragraph of "To a Lily" as characteristic of Legaré's work and declared that its author, together with certain other minor writers, deserved only "passing notice. As with the rest, there is wanting with him the swift, sure utterance of the genuine lyric mood, and one feels that the poetry is made, not inspired." (Notwithstanding this derogation, a full-page likeness of Legaré is also published.[64]) In 1910 George A. Wauchope included no less than seven of Legaré's efforts in *The Writers of South Carolina,*[65] yet only one year later another anthologist could confess of Legaré: "I have been able to collect very few facts about his life."[66] With 1929, however, there came a second resurgence of interest in the poet, when three separate critics found his name worthy of remembrance. We have already noted Ludwig Lewisohn's tribute in the *Library of Southern Literature.*[67] Now, too, Alfred Kreyemborg—himself a poet—went on record, in *Our Singing Strength,* with the statement that *Orta-Undis* contained "some exquisite writing doubtless inherited from the French." This commentator felt that Paul Hamilton Hayne "gave the larger performance and Legaré the better promise,"[68] and reprinted "To a Lilly" in his *Lyric America* (1930).[69] The best was yet to be, however, when—still in 1929—the first and third stanzas of "To a Lily" won admission to a jam-packed but widely celebrated Hall of Fame: Nathan Haskell Dole decided that the verses were

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of a Kinsman," 4. Parks is probably in error when he declares (*Southern Poets,* p. civ) that "Ahab-Mohammed" is Legaré's most widely reprinted poem.

[63] Penrhyn W. Coussens, ed., "James Matthews [*sic*] Legare," *Poems Children Love* (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1908), 279-280. No critical comment.

[64] Henry N. Snyder, "Characteristics of Southern Poetry from the Beginning to 1865," *The South in the Building of the Nation,* VII (Richmond, Va.: The Southern Historical Publication Society, [1909]), 17. Portrait facing page 18. This is a reproduction of the Capewell and Kimmel engraving which had originally appeared in *The Knickerbocker Gallery: A Testimonial to the Editor of the Knickerbocker Magazine from its Contributors* (New York: Samuel Hueston, 1855), facing 347. The engraving prefaces Legaré's contribution to the *Gallery,* his prose tale, "The Loves of Mary Jones" (347-371). The volume was compiled by Rufus W. Griswold.

[65] Wauchope, *The Writers of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C.: State Publishing Company, 1910), 249-258. Reprinted are "The Reaper," "To a Lily," "Tallulah," "On the Death of a Kinsman," "To Anne," "Flowers in Ashes," "Haw-Blossoms."

[66] Henry J. Stockard, *A Study in Southern Poetry* (New York and Washington, D. C.: Neale Publishing Company, 1911), 119-122. Reprinted are "To a Lily," "Ahab-Mohammed," and "Amy."

[67] See above, p. 418, n. 4.

[68] Kreyemborg, *Our Singing Strength: An Outline of American Poetry (1620-1930)* (New York: Coward, McCann, 1929), 159.

[69] Kreyemborg, ed., *Lyric America . . . 1630-1930* (New York: Coward, McCann, 1930), 141. Reprinted in the 2nd revised ed., New York, 1941.

well enough known to be permitted a small niche in the tenth edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*.[70] Dole's selection has been retained in both the eleventh and twelfth editions (1938, 1948 respectively); and their co-editor, Miss Louella D. Everett, tells why:

> In 1934 or 1935 when I began work on the eleventh edition of Bartlett, I left in the "To a Lily" stanzas—you'll smile at my "woman's reason"—because John Bennett, the Charleston, S. C., author, lives on Legaré Street, and I wanted to keep Legaré's memory green.[71]

That the poet's memory is not sufficiently green, but, rather, lingers in the sere and yellow leaf is suggested by the fact that an otherwise careful modern scholar, on adding "Haw-Blossoms" to his anthology of romantic writing in 1933, can still misspell Legaré's middle name and err on the publication date of *Orta-Undis*.[72]

No, despite a tenuous but persistent professional appreciation, Legaré's verse is worthy of a wider audience. Such an audience it has not yet had. "This complete neglect," as Edd W. Parks observed in 1936, "is all the more remarkable when the quality of his work is considered."[73] If a more general reader interest in the quality of that work is at all revived by the present article, its author will have fulfilled his aim.

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[70] N. H. Dole, ed., "James Matthews [*sic*] Legare," *Familiar Quotations*, tenth edition (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), 755-756.

[71] Miss Everett to the writer, August 26, 1948. Miss Everett, to whom I am also indebted for calling my attention to the existence of the Coussens anthology (p. 437, n. 63 above), is convinced that Dole did not go back to *Orta-Undis* for "To a Lilly," but drew the verses from Stedman's *American Anthology* (1900), which Dole was using heavily for certain portions of his edition of the Bartlett.

[72] Tremaine McDowell, ed., "James Matthews [*sic*] Legare," *The Romantic Triumph: American Literature from 1830 to 1860* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 704. Brief biographical comments occur on page 740, where the publication date of *Orta-Undis* is given as 1847.

[73] Parks, ed., *Southern Poets*, 93. See above, p. 428, n. 39.

CAREER OF A FLAG

By THOMAS E. BLADES and JOHN W. WIKE

Consigned to the relatively dim obscurity of the files of the Department of the Army in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., is an old flag, unseen and little known. This flag of twenty-eight stars and thirteen stripes, faded and begrimed by use and the ruthless passage of time, has a most unusual and interesting history.

Loosely wired to its broken and bullet-scared staff is a small tarnished silver shield upon which is inscribed the following:

THIS FLAG was borne by Company G, 12th Infantry composed of North Carolinians commanded by Captain C. R. Jones during the War with Mexico. In the hands of Lieut. E. Cantwell it was the first to wave over the Fort at the National Bridge. Presented to the WILMINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY By Capt. Jones 22nd Feb. 1857.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war with Mexico a regiment was authorized to be organized under the Act of February 11, 1847.[1]

The regiment, which was designated the Twelfth United States Infantry,[2] was to become a part of the regular line for and during the period of the war, and was to be recruited in the States of Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina and South Carolina.[3]

Charles R. Jones, a resident of Fayetteville, North Carolina, who had been one of the original leaders in organizing and recruiting Company C, First Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Regular Army[4] and assigned to Company G, of the Twelfth Infantry.

He set up his recruiting headquarters in Fayetteville and soon had his company well filled. When the company was fully organ-

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[1] *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 123.
[2] Paragraph 9, General Orders Number 8, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C., dated March 4, 1847.
[3] Paragraph 9, General Orders Number 8, Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D. C., dated March 4, 1847.
[4] Document 176 M, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.

ized and prepared to leave a brief ceremony was held in which Lieutenant Jones was presented a sword by the members of the Independent Rifle Company of Fayetteville, one of the oldest military organizations in the United States. The gracious ladies of the town presented each member of the new company with a Bible. Prior to this, these generous ladies had presented a flag to the first company of volunteers organized there for the Mexican War of which Lieutenant Jones had been an officer.[5] Upon the disbanding of this organization the flag came into the possession of Jones and was used by him at his recruiting headquarters.[6] This standard was destined to become the battle flag of the Twelfth Infantry and a history of this flag is also a history of the activities of Company G.

The new company left Fayetteville in May, 1847, and arrived at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, on the twenty-ninth.[7] It sailed from Fort Moultrie on June 20 and arrived at Vera Cruz on the same day of the following month.[8] After being assigned to Major Folliot T. Lally's command it began a dangerous and difficult march into enemy country to join General Scott. It is alleged that this was the only flag which was displayed by that command during the entire campaign from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico.[9]

"Puente de la Nacional" (the National Bridge) was the first place this untried company and unchristened battle flag were to receive their real baptism of fire and the flag was to begin a very interesting career. The American forces under Major Lally, Ninth Infantry, numbered but 1,000 men, most of whom were raw recruits, against an enemy variously estimated from 1,800 to 3,000 men under Padre Jourante.[10]

On the morning of August 12, 1847, this small command broke up its encampment at "Passo de los Vegas"[11] and started for the National Bridge where it was expected contact with Jourante's guerrileros would be made. At about eleven o'clock the American Forces came in sight of the bridge. Immediately the sixty-

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[5] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[6] Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.
[7] Document 402 W, Adjutant General Office, 1847.
[8] Return of Company G, 12th Infantry, July, 1847.
[9] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[10] Letter from Charles R. Jones to Edward Cantwell, March 23, 1848, enclosing a brief sketch of the Battle of National Bridge, filed with document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.
[11] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

four baggage wagons with the command were doubled up on the road and the men were ordered to prepare for action. At first only a few enemy stragglers were seen, but when reconnoitering parties were sent out they soon brought back information that the enemy had thrown up a strong barricade across the farthest extremity of the bridge. The heights on the opposite side of the river which the bridge crossed were occupied by a large body of the foe firmly entrenched behind fortified positions which effectually commanded the bridge.[12]

On the right of the road the enemy had occupied a high hill which also commanded the bridge and it appeared to be impossible to attack because of a deep ravine which ran between the American forces and the guerrileros.[13]

On the left side the guerrileros had also occupied a small fort on a hill about 300 feet above the level of the road and this, too, commanded the bridge. In a small town on the other side lurked a body of some 300 enemy lancers.[14]

No alternative was left the gallant command but to attempt to fight its way over the bridge in a frontal attack; accordingly, about half past one in the afternoon the artillery consisting of two brass six-pounders commanded by Lieutenant H. B. Sears, Second Artillery, was ordered forward to a position on the bridge with Lieutenant Wilkins' Company, Fifteenth Infantry, as advance guard.[15] At the same time Captain W. I. Clarke's Company I, Twelfth Infantry, and Lieutenant Loring's Company of Eleventh Infantry moved forward under cover of the artillery to engage the enemy.[16] Jones, now a captain, commanding Company G, was ordered to take a position in front of the supply train to defend it against a possible attack.[17]

The column of infantry advanced to the bridge and passed the heights on the right of the road without being fired upon, but the moment the artillery reached the bridge the enemy opened up from all positions with a devastating fire.[18] Within thirty minutes there was not a man standing at the artillery with the exception of Lieutenant Sears, who, miraculously, remained unhurt.

[12] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[13] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[14] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[15] Major Lally's report of operations of his command on the march from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.
[16] Major Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.
[17] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[18] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

Meanwhile action had become general. The advancing infantry, after holding out over an hour against this murderous fire, was forced to retire leaving the two pieces of artillery remaining on the bridge and in grave danger of being captured.[19]

The enemy, encouraged by the repulse of the United States troops, raised the black flag on one of the forts signifying that no quarter would be given.[20] At this crucial time the supply train was attacked in the rear and center and a demonstration was made at its head but the Mexicans were repulsed by Captain Jones and his alert company with considerable casualties among the enemy forces.[21]

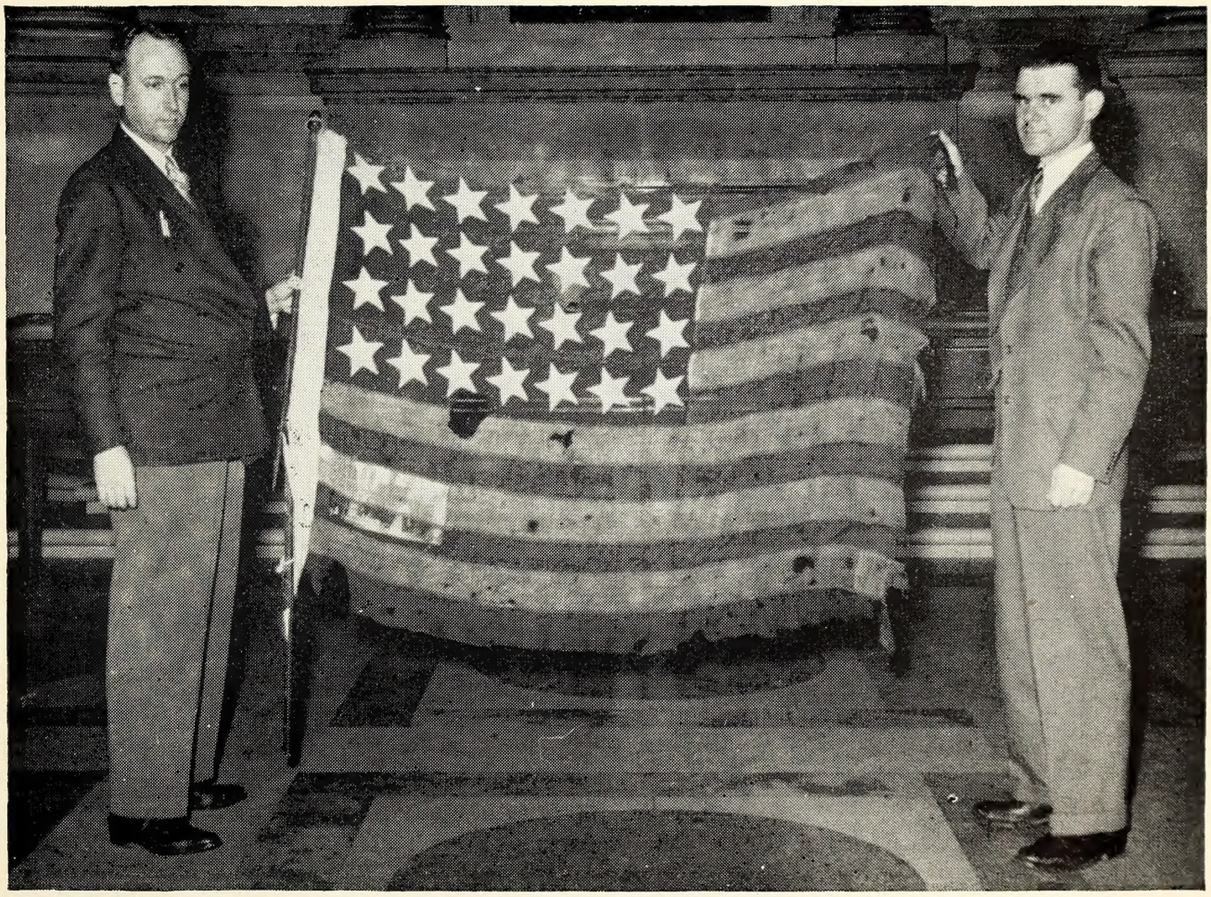
Lieutenant Sears appealed to Captain Jones for assistance in bringing off at least one gun from the bridge and Lieutenant Edward Cantwell of Company G volunteered to make a try at it.[22] Because of the extremely heavy fire being delivered by the Mexicans only one non-commissioned officer of Company G volunteered to go with him[23] and it was necessary to order twelve other enlisted men to assist in the suicidal attempt.[24]

The small detachment accompanied by Lieutenant Sears descended to the bridge and brought off one of the guns with the loss of one man wounded; however, George D. Twiggs, who, expecting a commission, was on his way to join General Scott as aide de camp,[25] and two or three others who had joined the party at the bridge, were killed.[26] Cantwell again made a brave dash to the bridge and brought off the body of Twiggs. Later a detachment of Mounted Volunteers under Lieutenant Walters managed to secure the other gun and a vigorous bombardment of the enemy positions was commenced.[27]

At the first signs of enemy withdrawal Captain C. C. Hornsby, Company K, Twelfth Infantry, was ordered to take possession of

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[19] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[20] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[21] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[22] Jones's letter to Cantwell, March 23, 1848, is used as authority for saying Cantwell was the officer who volunteered. Lieutenant Sears in his report of this operation (document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847, enclosure no. 2) gives credit to Captain Clarke of Company I, Twelfth Infantry. However, as Captain Jones was the officer appealed to for assistance it is more probable that he would know the correct name of the officer who did volunteer.
[23] According to Captain Jones's letter to Cantwell of March 23, 1848, this non-commissioned officer was Corporal Lucius Moore.
[24] Jones to Cantwell, dated March 23, 1848.
[25] Major Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.
[26] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[27] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.



FLAG OF COMPANY G, 12TH INFANTRY, THE FIRST TO WAVE OVER THE ENEMY STRONGHOLD AT THE NATIONAL BRIDGE, WAR WITH MEXICO. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES EXHIBITION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 16, 1946.

the fort on the left of the American forces.[28] The company immediately advanced accompanied by Lieutenant Cantwell who bore in his hands the "Stars and Stripes" which had been presented by the ladies of Fayetteville.[29] When the charging troops reached the enemy fort, four of Cantwell's comrades raised him in their arms[30] to the top of the breastworks where he stood waving the colors.

More of the men of Cantwell's command joined him, and the Mexicans, expecting a general assault, beat a hasty retreat.

The enemy strong hold had been taken with the loss of one officer and ten enlisted men killed or mortally wounded and four officers and thirty-six enlisted men wounded.[31]

The standard held by Cantwell was adopted by Major Lally's command and waved defiantly, tho bullet torn, in engagements of the Twelfth Infantry at Cerro Gordo, Las Animas and Jalapa, Huamantla, Atlixco, and other skirmishes and engagements.

When the command reported to General Winfield S. Scott at the City of Mexico, Captain Jones claimed the flag as the property of Company G and it was returned to him to remain with the company until the end of hostilities.[32] Captain Jones retained possession of this historic prize after the company was mustered out at Camp Carrolton, Louisiana, on July 24, 1848.[33]

On February 25, 1857,[34] Jones, now a general of militia of Iredell County, North Carolina, presented the colors to the Wilmington Light Infantry Company which had been organized on May 20, 1853,[35] with the brave Cantwell as its first captain.

In 1859, upon the request of Cantwell, the Wilmington Light Infantry by unanimous resolution presented the banner "to the keeping of him [Cantwell] who first raised it victoriously in defense of his country."[36]

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[28] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[29] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.
[30] In a letter to the *Wilmington Herald* dated March 7, 1857, James Banks informed the newspaper that B. A. Howell and Malcolm McNeil of Cumberland and two others were the comrades who raised Cantwell to the top of the enemy breastworks. (Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879), On March 4, 1857, B. A. Howell had also written the *Wilmington Herald* and informed them he remembered the Bibles the ladies of Fayetteville had given the company and also the march on the National Road and the Battle of National Bridge.
[31] Lally's report, document 373 L, Adjutant General's Office, 1847.
[32] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[33] Muster roll of Company G, Twelfth Infantry, July 24, 1848.
[34] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[35] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[36] John R. Sanders, chairman, Wilmington Light Infantry, to Cantwell, January 14, 1859. (Document 1134, Adjutant General's Office, 1879.)

At the beginning of the Civil War, Cantwell, who later became a lieutenant colonel in the Confederate States Army,[37] wishing to preserve this priceless memento of the Twelfth Infantry, buried the flag for safekeeping upon an island in the Cape Fear River.[38] In 1863, when Wilmington was re-occupied by United States troops, a party of soldiers searching for hidden treasure discovered the flag and presented it to the fire company of that city who later returned it to Cantwell.[39]

Prior to the burial of the standard, Cantwell's brother, John L. Cantwell, a colonel of the Fifty-first North Carolina Troops, Confederate States Army, had taken the staff off the flag and placed the colors of his regiment upon it and these had been captured by the Union forces in Virginia.[40]

In 1875 Colonel Cantwell, who had been a member of the "Rowan Rifle Guard," sent his son Fred to Charlotte to carry this battle-scarred flag at the head of their command in the procession in honor of the Centennial Celebration of American Liberty. The flag "attracted considerable attention throughout the day."[41]

On February 22, 1879, Cantwell delivered the flag to the National Association of Mexican Veterans at Baltimore, Maryland, during its Sixth Annual Reunion.[42] It was unanimously resolved that the flag be tendered to the War Department on behalf of the survivors of the Mexican War to be preserved among the battle flags of the nation.[43] Accordingly, General Denver, president of the association, three days later placed the flag and shield in the hands of the Secretary of War.

The shield became detached from the flag and was returned to the Wilmington Light Infantry by the Adjutant General of the Army under the mistaken impression that it had been picked up on the battlefield.[44] As a result of a brief exchange of correspondence with the War Department, a former captain of the Wilmington Light Infantry,[45] and Cantwell, the shield was re-

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[37] Twelfth Regiment, North Carolina Infantry, and Fifty-ninth Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States Army.
[38] Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[39] Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[40] Document 3,800, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[41] *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1875.
[42] Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[43] Document 797, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[44] Document 3424, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[45] William L. DeRosset who had been present when the flag was originally presented to the Wilmington Light Infantry by Jones.

turned on June 17, 1887,[46] and again was attached to the staffless flag.

In June, 1887, Cantwell informed the War Department of the whereabouts of the staff,[47] and after a long search, that, too, was found among the captured Confederate flags on file in the War Department and returned to its original use, completing the honorable career of a flag that, in 1848, bore nine shot holes.[48] And the flag and staff, along with many other historical items, was transferred to the National Archives, where it remains today.

[46] Document 3,585, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[47] Document 3,800, Adjutant General's Office, 1887.
[48] Jones to Cantwell, March 23, 1848.

PRINCE BERNHARD'S TRAVELS IN THE CAROLINAS, DECEMBER, 1825[1]

Translated and Edited by
SUSANNE H. FREUND and ALICE B. KEITH

Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, commonly referred to as Prince Bernhard (1792-1862) was the second son of the Grand Duke Karl August, famous through his friendship with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. As a second son Bernhard was destined for a military career. In the turbulent times of the Napoleonic wars he showed personal courage and military efficiency. He fought first with the Rheinbund on the side of Napoleon, but during the Russian campaign his parents sent him on an educational tour of France and Italy. He returned to take part in the final struggle against Napoleon, however, and entered into the service of the army of the Netherlands.[2]

From childhood on the prince had dreamed of seeing the New World, and in 1825 his ambitions were realized when, after obtaining leave of absence from the army of the Netherlands, he set out on his travels to North America. He was well prepared for this experience through careful study and a three months' stay in England, Ireland, and Scotland. He even toyed with the thought of settling permanently in one of these countries, his idea being that "there is nobody happier than a private citizen with sufficient means." He at first hoped to include Mexico in his American voyage, but the difficulties of arrangement did not make this plan feasible. He landed in Boston on July 26. After an excursion westward and northward to Niagara, Montreal, and Quebec, he travelled southward with stops in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Charlottesville, Virginia, where he was the guest of Thomas Jefferson.[3] From Norfolk he began the journey into the Carolinas (which is described in this study),

[1] An excerpt from Heinrich Luden, editor, *Reise, Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826* (Weimar, 1828), I, 306-317.

[2] R. Starkloff, *Das Leben des Herzogs Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach* (Gotha, 1865-1866), *passim*.

[3] This part of the *Reise* has been translated by Francis H. Heller, *Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society* (Charlottesville, Virginia, 1948), VII (1946-1947), 29-35.

Georgia (Augusta and Macon), and the territory of the Creek Indians; then he went on to New Orleans, whence he took a boat to St. Louis. He made a point of visiting New Harmony, Indiana, where he found the experimental settlement of Robert Owen interesting enough to add its constitution in an appendix of the diary of his tour. He then went on through Louisville to Cincinnati and out into the "interior" of Ohio[4] and then by Pittsburgh back into Pennsylvania and on to New York, from whence he sailed in June, 1826.[5]

While on his tour Prince Bernhard kept a day-by-day diary which was not intended for publication but for the pleasure of his friends and relatives. The widespread interest that the journal aroused surprised him very much. Many prominent people, eager to get hold of one of the few copies in longhand, urged him to make the diary more generally available in book form. The idea was later justified by the more than 800 subscriptions for the book. The Grand Duke Karl August, the father of the prince, wanted two reliable scholars,[6] geologists as well as historians, to undertake the editorship under the instruction of his friend Goethe, who had written an Italian diary which had been a phenomenal success. Goethe, as shown by numerous letters and notations in his diary, had read the prince's journal

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[4] The duke's visit to Kentucky and Ohio has been described by George H. Blake. "The Visit of Duke Bernard of Sachsen-Weimar to Kentucky and Ohio," in a paper given at the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, March 31-April 2, 1949.

[5] The contemporary accounts of the duke's visit show the keen interest with which his journey was followed. Western papers and journals described his reception. (George H. Blake refers to some of these in his study.) The *American Quarterly Review* (September and December 1828, Philadelphia) gave an extensive biographical sketch and a very fine tribute to the duke upon the appearance of his *Reise*. The *Southern Review* (February, 1829) was not quite so enthusiastic, perhaps because the duke had not been very complimentary to the hotels and some of the buildings of Columbia. The writer of the *Southern Review* thought that the duke "passed through North Carolina too rapidly to do anything like justice to the many remarkable things which that state has to boast of," and he undertook to correct some of the errors which the duke had made in regard to South Carolina. He enumerated the following:

"1. It [Columbia] contains instead of four hundred inhabitants almost as many thousand [The author of the *Review*, however, must have based his criticism on the English translation, as the German *Reise* gives the correct number of inhabitants as well as the correct spelling of the name of the president of the Senate, mentioned in no. 4 below].

"2. Judge DeSaussures' father was not a native of Lausanne, nor uncle of the celebrated naturalist. It was his grandfather, we believe, who emigrated to this country from Geneva.

"3. Colonel Blanding is not the step-son, but his son-in-law [The critic must refer to the translation again, as the *Reise* has Schwieger-sohn (son-in-law)].

"4. The name of the president of the Senate is not Johns, but I'On.

"5. Mr. Herbemont never was professor of Botany of South Carolina College, nor is there any such professorship known there . . . His Highness also does great injustices to the motives of the Professor of Astronomy, who neglected to introduce him into the Observatory, as well as the College Library, which contains [for this country] a very good and choice collection of books, particularly, a very complete series of Greek and Roman classics of the very best editions." (See below, p. 485, n. 36.)

[6] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke* (Weimar, 1887-1919), part IV, vol. XLI, "Lesarten," 375.

very carefully and was himself deeply interested in the young American republic. But he finally refused the editorship in a very kindly letter, stating that he did not know enough and was not well enough prepared to instruct others in the matter.[7] Prince Bernhard then chose a friend of his, Professor Heinrich Luden, a professor of history and a member of the Landstände of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, to edit the journal. In the preface Luden mentions three changes which he made in the manuscript. He put the day-by-day diary into chapters and provided chapter headings; simplified the spelling; and omitted notes and remarks of purely personal interest to the author or his family. Otherwise it appears as the prince wrote it. The book was published in 1828 under the title, *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825-1826*. In the same year a translation was published in Philadelphia by Carey, Lea & Carey under the title, *Travels through North America during the Years 1825 and 1826*. The translator, who remains unknown, corrected some obvious errors of the author, but his attempt to give a literal translation was so cumbersome that the reading is difficult and tedious. The translation given below has been made, of course, from the German edition.

Prince Bernhard also travelled widely in Russia and the Near East. In 1848 he became commander-in-chief of the colonial army of the Netherlands in Java. In addition to his "Reisetagebuch" he published *Précis de la Campagne de Java en 1811* (Haag, 1834). Goethe himself has left some interesting descriptive bits about the prince. In a letter to the Grand Duke he appraised the newly arrived diary and said of the prince: "The traveller appears to have a well balanced personality, all his character traits are in harmony with each other, and those who do not know him would be kept guessing [as to his character]. We see a man of the world who is welcome everywhere, a well educated and proven officer, a man who is interested in the affairs and institutions of State, but who is equally at ease at dinners and dances, and not unimpressed by lovely women. At public occasions he shows himself as a good speaker, in social conversation he is entertaining; he is liberal minded without forgetting his manners; conscious of his dignity, but using the

[7] Goethe to Karl August (November 27, 1826), in Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke*, part IV, vol. XLI, 239.



SECTION FROM THE MAP IN THE *REISE*: "VEREINIGTE STAATEN VON NORD-AMERICA," 1828.

advantages of his rank to make his life fuller as well as easier. Nevertheless he does not shun any discomforts but on his oftentimes tedious journey he uses every chance acquaintance to enrich his own life and knowledge."[8] Goethe expressed a very favorable opinion of the prince and his travels in many other letters and finally summed up his estimates in a poem written on the occasion of the official welcome to the prince by the Masonic Lodge. This poem,[9] which also expresses Goethe's wholehearted admiration of the New World, has been put to music by Friedrich Zelter.

DIARY

I had intended to spend another day [in Norfolk] in order to visit the Navy yard at Gosport, about a mile from Norfolk; Mr. Meyau[10] wanted to accompany me there. The innkeeper, who wished to capitalize on my presence as much as possible, had announced in the newspaper that today [December 2, 1825] he would serve a dinner in which soup, roast venison, and wild duck would be the attractions. However, the fates had decided that I would not enjoy any of these delicacies. To my disgust, I was informed that the *Mail stage,*[11] the only satisfactory conveyance to the South, and especially to *Fayetteville* [North Carolina] left *Norfolk* only on Tuesdays and Fridays; therefore, if we did not leave within an hour, we would have to wait until Tuesday. This did not fit into my plans, and since there was no private conveyance available, I had my luggage packed helter-skelter, took leave of the friendly Mr. *Meyau* and left around half past ten on the *Mail stage* which makes connection with the steamboat from *Baltimore.*

We rode sixty-eight miles to Murfreesborough [North Carolina], which we reached that night about eleven o'clock. First [after leaving Norfolk] we crossed over two inlets on very long wooden bridges; and then we passed through Portsmouth [Virginia], a small village by the Navy Yard, where I saw the battleship *Delaware* and a frigate *Macedonia,* which had been taken from the English, both seemed to be in ordinary [constant service], but I did not have time to visit this certainly very interesting establishment. We had no sooner left this place than we came into a forest through which we drove all day. This region is swampy throughout, and is called the *Dismal Swamp*[12] through which leads a sandy road. The forest is very dense, and con-

[8] Goethe to Karl August (July 20, 1826), in Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke,* part IV, vol. XLI, 92.

[9] *Dem aus Amerika Gliicklich Bereichert Wiederkehrenden, . . .* Goethe, *Saemmtliche Werke,* Part I, vol. IV, 309 ff.

[10] Merjau was the French consul at Norfolk, *Reise,* 303.

[11] Italicized words in the translation are repeated from the *Reise.*

[12] This description of the Dismal Swamp is very similar to that given by Frederick Law Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854* (New York, 1904), I, 166-169.

sists of oaks, among which I noticed the *life* [live] oak,* cypress,

* Immergrüne Eiche.

cedars, pines, and in swampy places a number of evergreen trees and bushes, the so-called Portuguese laurel, and tall hollies; here and there we also found magnolia trees, and large climbing vines, mostly the Virginia Creeper. The great variety of the vegetation must present a pretty picture in the summertime. I heard, however, that then people are bothered very much by mosquitoes and flies, and that it is said that there are also many snakes in the swamp. They say too that many bears inhabit the swamp but that they never attack anyone. By noon, we reached *Suffolk* [Virginia], twenty-eight miles from *Norfolk*, a little village of wooden houses in the midst of the forest. Wheat bread became scarcer and in its place we were offered a kind of cake made from corn. On the other side we came to a field of growing cotton, the first I had seen.

As night came we passed the border, leaving the State of *Virginia*, and entering the State of *North Carolina*. We crossed both the rivers *Nottaway* and *Meherrin* on rather narrow and bad ferries, which in the darkness of the night appeared very dangerous. The lights and lamps seemed to become few and far between here; for the lighting of the few houses which we passed, consisted only of pine knots. We took several with us to enable us to see. The gloomy, rainy night made the journey very unpleasant. In *Murfreesborough* we stopped at a very mediocre inn, where I immediately went to bed for a short rest, as I was very tired.

On December 3 we started early, around two o'clock in the morning, in a terrible downpour of rain which continued the whole day without any letup, and drove seventy-five miles to an isolated inn called Emerson's tavern. The landscape remained the same as it was the day before: a dense forest especially in the frequent swampy places offered a very pretty variety of evergreen trees and shrubs. Some spots we found somewhat cultivated. This was the case on the plantations where corn and cotton were grown. On such plantations all the buildings are of wood, the house of the owner, with a *piazza*, stands in the center while to the right and left are the log cabins of the Negro slaves, as well as the sheds for the corn and the cotton. The horses stand in very airy wooden stables, while cattle and hogs remain, during the whole winter in pastures enclosed in *worm fences* [zigzag rail].[13] Only the cattle to be fattened are kept in barns. On several plantations we saw the so-called *cotton gins* or *Baumwollenmühlen* in which by a cylindrical comb the seeds are removed from the cotton. These mills are driven either by water power or by horses. After the cotton has been separated from the seeds it is thrown into a large box [press], shaken, pressed, and packed. A sack [piece of bagging] is put in the

[13] Olmstead also speaks of "zig-zag fences" in Virginia (*Journey*, I, 84).

box to hold the cotton when it is packed. The lid of the box is moveable and works with a screw, which with the aid of two horses packs the cotton down. When the cotton has been packed the lid is removed and the *Leinwand*[14] [bale cloth or bagging] is folded together and small ropes [ties] are wound around the bale which, on the average, weighs 300 pounds. This work is very laborious and only two bales can be made in a day. If only *Brahmah's Waterpress*[15] could be used instead of this cumbersome machine, it would surely save much time, expense, and labor. The "grobe Leinwand" which is used to bag the cotton is made in England.

We crossed the *Roanoke* River on a pretty bad ferry. The banks of this stream are truly picturesque and with their southern vegetation much resemble a park. In the little village of *Tarborough*, which is situated on the *Tar River*, we had the midday meal at a very good inn. We had crossed this river on a ferry and its beautiful banks had delighted us. Our quarters for the night—we reached there about eight in the evening—were on an isolated plantation; the house was built entirely of wood, only the chimney being of bricks. It was somewhat transparent. We were given the attic room in which to sleep, and through the cracks in the floor we could see the room beneath. If a fire should break out in such a house, nothing could be saved. Only this morning we had passed the smoking ruins of a schoolhouse which had burned down in an hour. Nothing but the brick chimney was left standing. The log cabins of the Negro slaves are especially transparent and at night when lighted with some *"Kienspahn"* [pine knots] they offer an odd spectacle to the passerby. The road all along had been sandy; in the frequent swampy places it was cut by a causeway which had given us some nasty jolts in our mail coach. The little town of Tarborough where we had our midday meal is said to have 800 inhabitants; it is regularly built, with broad streets, but contains only wooden houses. I saw only two brick houses. If there had been more brick buildings, I would have likened this friendly place to a Dutch village.

The following morning we left our airy night quarters around three o'clock and proceeded toward *Fayetteville*, eighty-six miles distance. Through the entire day we passed through thick woods without reaching a single village, only isolated plantations surrounded by corn and cotton fields. For several days I had been noticing birds which were new to me, especially large falcons called *Buzzards*. It is contrary to law to shoot them, since they feed on carrion, and thus contribute their part to the sanitation of the region. We crossed the *Neuse*, a fairly broad river, on a narrow and poor ferry. There are many evergreen trees and

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[14] "Leinwand" is the word for linen cloth. It is quite possible that linen was actually used since much of this material was imported from England where a tax was placed on cotton goods.

[15] Joseph Brahmah was able to construct a successful hand-operated press (about 1796), which is still used in small industries.

shrubs on the banks of these rivers. The oaks here are not very high, but of great variety; thirty-seven different kinds are counted. There were fewer chestnuts and nut trees; we learned that they are found only in the mountainous sections. Not far from *Fayetteville,* which we reached about nine o'clock in the evening, we crossed the *Cape Fear River* on a long covered bridge, built on a suspension framework [a swinging bridge] of which I had seen a very good model in the *Patent Office* in *Washington.* I had intended to remain here in *Fayetteville,* a flourishing place of about 4,000 inhabitants, a day, for I was very tired from the highly fatiguing journey and I also wanted to see the place. I learned however, that it would be three days before I would have an opportunity to go to *Charleston* where I intended to go next, if I did not take the *Mailstage* in the early morning of the following day, so I made up my mind to continue my journey early the next morning.

However another difficulty arose: the direct *Mailstage* to *Charleston* is drawn by two horses only, and could not take my baggage, while there is a four-horse *Mail* [stage] via *Columbia* in *South Carolina.* Though I thus was driving on a right angle route while the two-horse *Mailstage* remained on the hypotenuse, I decided to take the former.

At three o'clock in the morning of December 5 we left *Fayetteville,* and drove 57 miles to *Cheraw* in the State of *South Carolina.* We reached this place at about seven o'clock in the evening. In *Fayetteville* a new traveller had joined us, a Mr. Davis from *Columbia,* a young, very well educated gentleman. The weather was pretty cold but it did not rain. Again we went through forest, on a very sandy road. We did not see much that was of interest, except the vegetation. The farther south we came, the more new plants we saw: for example Jasmine, and a tree that I had not known before, Pride of China *(Melia aze darach),*[16] which is found mainly around the houses, and also gum trees. We crossed several rivers; the most remarkable of them were the Little and the Great *Pedee* this side of Cheraw. In this place I met the Commodores *Bainbridge* and *Warrington,* and Capt. *Biddle.*[17] These gentlemen had been to Pensacola in order to decide on a suitable place for a navy base in the Mexican gulf which is gaining in importance more and more for the United States. From Pensacola they had returned by boat to Savannah from where they were returning to Washington by land. Commodore Warrington, however, will return to the Mexican Gulf, where he is in command of the station. I was very glad to make their acquaintance, and spent the evening with them.

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[16] Commonly called chinaberry or umbrella tree.

[17] The duke seems to have encountered three noted American Navy Officers here. All had won distinction in earlier wars, either the quasi-war with France or the War of 1812. Commodores William Bainbridge and Lewis Warrington, and Captain James Biddle, who was also designated commodore in 1826, were greatly revered in the United States. *Dictionary of American Biography* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York), I (1928), 504-507; II(1929), 240-241; XIX (1936), 492-493.

We left *Cheraw* at three o'clock in the morning of December 6 and went to *Camden*, 68 miles distant. We drove constantly through thick woods. There had been a heavy frost in the night, and it was still rather cold in the early hours of the morning, but the higher the sun rose, the warmer it became, and we had as beautiful a day as in spring. From the intensive blue color of the sky we learned that we were progressing deeper into the South. We did not see any new trees except larger magnolias of different varieties. Our meals plainly showed that we were in a region where rice was grown. The principal rivers were the *Black Creek* and two branches of *Lynch's Creek.* I liked the region around these rivers very much because of its beautiful evergreen vegetation. The road was sandy, and we proceeded only very slowly. We had our breakfast and our dinner in clapboard houses, which stand on brick piles [or which are built on brick pillars] so that there is a constant airdraft under the houses which are so flimsily and loosely built as to allow the daylight in on all sides. In the openings which they call windows there are neither frames nor windowpanes but only shutters. Considering the need for glass and the abundance of pines and sand this region ought to offer a good opportunity to establish a glass factory. Toward eight o'clock in the evening we reached *Camden,* a good little town, where we found nice lodgings. The nights were very light; for some time already I had been seeing completely new star constellations, while the familiar ones were slowly disappearing.

On December 7 we started again at three in the morning in the bitter cold, and drove only 35 miles to *Columbia.* The road was the same as the days before; but the region became more hilly, the sand more yellow and mixed with clay. We crossed the *Wateree* River on a narrow ferry, but only under many difficulties. We had reached the river before dawn. The driver blew his horn* several times, but we had to wait for the ferry

* This is a tin horn of two to three feet in length which produces miserable sounds that can be heard however at a great distance. It is fastened by two leather strips on the outside of the coach.

for nearly half an hour. It finally arrived, managed by two Negroes. The coach had hardly been embarked when we met with another disaster. We had run onto a bank, and the Negroes had to work more than half an hour to get us afloat again. At last we reached the other side of the river; the Negroes were however so clumsy that it took them more than a quarter of an hour to bring the ferry into a position where the coach could be driven out on the land. We reached *Columbia* towards one o'clock at noontime, and took our quarters at *Clarks hotel,* a large but mediocre house. We got only small rooms, because just at this time the *Legislature* convened in this capital of *South Carolina,* and all houses were filled to overflowing. The city which

was founded only 40 years ago has 4,000 inhabitants. It has a pretty location on a hill, below the confluence of the *Saluda* and the *Broad River* which from here on is called the *Congaree*. It is built after a very regular plan, containing many brick houses; the streets, crossing each other in a right angle, are a hundred feet wide, and though not paved, are furnished with wide sidewalks of bricks and rows of *Pride of China* trees. Some of the private homes are surrounded by gardens, and I saw many evergreen trees, usually laurel, and some rather high *yucca gloriosa* which here are called *palmettos.*[18] I found several well stocked shops in *Columbia* which seems to be quite a lively town. In the dining room, where many of the deputies were eating, I made the acquaintance of a Mr. *Washington* from *Charleston* to whom I had an introduction from *Baltimore*. He in turn introduced me to several members of the Legislature. *Manning,*[19] the governor of the state, sent me his compliments and an invitation for the evening through his military aide, Mr. *Butler.*[20] Mr. *Washington*, a distant relative of the President, a son of a colonel[21] of the cavalry who had made a name for himself in the American Revolution, took me towards evening to a Judge *Desaussure,*[22] one of the most distinguished gentlemen of this city and of the state also; I had been recommended to him, and I found him a very dignified old gentleman. The father of Mr. *Desaussure* was born in *Lausanne* in *Switzerland*, and was a cousin of the famous scientist[23] of the same name. I met many gentlemen who had dined at his [Judge Desaussure's] house, and among them I also made the acquaintance of the governor, a really fine man. After these gentlemen had left, Mr. *Desaussure* took me to one of his sons-in-law, Colonel *Blanding,*[24] a civil engineer who is famous for his great knowledge. I was quite shocked that so many gentlemen had the habit of chewing tobacco in spite of the evil smell and even in the company of ladies. I found a big party with many ladies. There I met two professors of the *College, Hen-*

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[18] The author, who was not familiar with these trees, confused two different species, the *yucca gloriosa* with the *setacea*, commonly called palmetto.

[19] Richard Irvine Manning was governor of South Carolina from 1824 to 1826, and later (1834) became their Unionist Congressman. John S. Van Deusen, "Richard Irvine Manning," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII (1943), 251.

[20] Probably Andrew Pickens Butler.

[21] Colonel William Washington who distinguished himself at the battle of Eutaw Springs. It was at this battle that General Nathanael Greene, assisted by the "Swamp Foxes," Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens, drove Lord Rawdon's forces to the coast. David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York, 1934), II, 290-291; Jennings B. Sanders, *Early American History* (New York, 1938), 550.

[22] Chancellor Henry William DeSaussure. Judge John Belton O'Neall says that the chancellor aided in the establishment of the South Carolina College. *Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration of the South Carolina College, 1805-1905* (Columbia, 1905), 154. See also David Kohn and Bess Glenn, *Internal Improvements in South Carolina, 1817-1828* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 559.

[23] Horace Benedict de Saussure (1740-1799), Swiss physicist and Alpine traveller.

[24] Abram Blanding was born in Massachusetts and attended Brown University. One of his instructors, Dr. Jonathan Maxey, who later became the first president of the South Carolina College, was probably responsible for Blanding's removal to South Carolina in 1797. Blanding married Mary Carolina DeSaussure. The waterworks were constructed as a private venture by Blanding and then were sold to the town for about one-third of the original cost. Blanding was a lawyer, a banker, and an engineer. He became superintendent of public works in Columbia in 1823. Kohn and Glenn, *Internal Improvements in South Carolina*, 599.

ry[25] and *Nott;*[26] the former speaks German and French and translated Niebuhr's Roman History into English. The latter had studied in England and France, had stayed a while in *Ghent,* and married a lady from *Brussels.* From Mr. *Blanding's* party we drove to the governor's, where we found a big party gathered for a ball. They were dancing square dances only, in the fashion of the tedious German quadrille; the music was furnished by Negroes. The governor, who in this state is elected for a term of two years, and his wife played the hosts very graciously; he introduced me to all the ladies and gentlemen. I made the interesting acquaintance of a Frenchman, Mr. *Herbemont,*[27] who had lived in the U.S.A. more than 40 years; he had formerly been a professor of botany at the *College* here, but was now living on his private income. The party stayed together until midnight.

The next morning Mr. *Desaussure* and Mr. *Herbemont* came to take me around and show me the few objects of interest in the city. We looked at the waterworks which provide water for the whole city. A basin or rather a reservoir had been dug into which several branches [springs] are drained. A steam engine of twelve horse-power is pumping the water out of the reservoir up into the city which lies 130 feet above it. Here the water is being distributed into several pipes which run in the middle of the streets throughout the city. At different places there are openings which are tightened with screws, to be opened in case of fire. This construction is an invention of Mr. *Blanding.*

We then went to the State House.[28] This is a large wooden building which in a couple of years will probably be replaced by a stone building. In one of the halls the 40 senators were gathered under the president, a Mr. *I'On;*[29] in another one under their speaker Mr. *O'Neil*[30] were 120 representatives. The rooms are very simple. The senators as well as the representatives are sitting in a half circle, with the speaker on a slightly raised platform in the centre. The discussion in both houses was of little interest and I did not stay very long. In the senate room I found two mediocre paintings done by an artist from *Charleston;*[31] one showed the battle of *Eutan* [Eutaw Springs?] under General

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[25] Robert Henry became professor of moral philosophy and logic in 1818. He was elected president of the College in 1842 and was professor of Greek literature from 1845 to 1846. M. La Borde, *History of the South Carolina College* (Charleston, 1847), 527.

[26] Henry Junius Nott was a graduate of the South Carolina College, with which he was associated for thirteen years. In December, 1824, he was elected professor of elements of criticism, logic, and the philosophies of language. He was also a contributor to the *Southern Review* and was thought remarkable for his knowledge of law. He travelled extensively and studied in France and Holland. He and his wife, who was French, were lost when the *Home* sank off the coast of North Carolina. John Belton O'Neall, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), II, 512-513.

[27] Nicholas Herbemont. La Borde lists him as a tutor of French language at the College, 1807-1818. *History of the College of South Carolina,* 528. See above, p. 476, n. 5.

[28] This was a temporary building. The capitol was burned when Sherman burned Columbia.

[29] Jacob Bond I'On.

[30] John Belton O'Neall was speaker of the house of representatives, 1824-1826, and was for forty years a trustee of the South Carolina College. He was a judge, a recognized agriculturist, and a prominent Baptist layman. *Cyclopedia of Eminent Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1892), 122, 140-141.

[31] Mr. A. S. Salley, state historian of South Carolina, is of the opinion that these were the work of John Blake White who painted a number of historical pictures, including "The Rescue" and "The Unfurling of the American Flag." These were probably burned when the State House was burned in 1865. A. S. Salley to Alice B. Keith, Columbia, April 6, 1949.

Green [Nathanael Greene] in the Revolutionary War, the other the defense of the lines of *New Orleans* under General *Jackson.* In a few days they [the legislators] are going to debate a very interesting problem; the question is whether the government of the United States has the right to build canals and roads in the states! The reasonable people understand that the government must have the power to do so, but the shortsighted people deny the federal government this right because of a certain jealousy among the states. This state jealousy seems to be gaining too much ground. The state of *South Carolina* wanted to build a road from *Charleston* west to *Tennessee.* This road would have to run a few miles through *North Carolina.* Under the pretense that the road would not be of sufficient advantage to *North Carolina* this state not only refuses to aid in the building of the road, but will not permit the other two states to have this part of the road built at their own expense. The real reason is said to be that they do not want *South Carolina* to enjoy any advantages from this road.

From the State House we went to *Columbia College,* a university, however one without the departments of medicine or theology. There are six professors. The president is Dr. *Cooper*[32] whom I met last summer in *Boston,* and who on his return trip fell ill in *Richmond.* The students number 120. They live in two large buildings which face each other. The house of the president stands between them, with the professors' houses on the two sides. We called on the professor of natural sciences, a Mr. *Vanuxem.*[33] He showed us the mineral collection of the *College.* A collection of the minerals of the state of South Carolina which Mr. *Vanuxem* started last summer proved to be more interesting. It contained several beautiful turmalines, smaragds, pyrites, which contained gold, a new kind of mineral, called *Columbian,*[34] asbestos, and various primary rocks. There also was gold from *North Carolina,* which had been discovered about six years ago. In *Cheraw* I had been on the point of making a trip to these gold mines, but this excursion would have cost me a couple of days. I was told that the gold is found in a kind of mud, that is dried and thereafter sifted so that the gold remains in the sieve. They are expecting some miners from Germany, and after their arrival they are going to start the gold mining

[32] Thomas Cooper was born in Westminster, England. After coming to America in 1794, he taught at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania and at the University of Virginia. He received a one-year appointment to succeed E. D. Smith, professor of chemistry, at the South Carolina College, December 3, 1819. He became temporary president of the College the following year and then was made president, a position which he held until 1834, when he was removed because of his radical views. He has been called "a materialist in philosophy, a Unitarian in theology, and a revolutionist in political theory." *Dictionary of American Biography,* IV, 414-416; M. La Borde, *History of the College of South Carolina,* 527; E. L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1916), 31.

[33] Lardner Vanuxen was professor of geology and mineralogy from 1821 to 1827. He is said to have suggested the first mineralogical survey of the state. After leaving the College he was invited by Governor Marcy of New York to take part in the geological survey of that state. He is said to have been the first "to recognize that the whole *alluvial tertiary,* and *cretaceous* formations of this country had been confounded by McClure under the name of "alluvium." LaBorde, *History of the College of South Carolina,* 122, 140-141.

[34] Columbium or niobium, "a metallic chemical element which has as yet found little application in the arts." It was first observed in a New England mineral in 1801 by Charles Hatchett. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

on a regular basis. Up to now the shareholders are said to have averaged $20.00 per week. I also saw the library, which however is not very strong, nor does it contain anything worth mentioning. On this occasion I met a Mr. *Elliot*[35] who has written a "Flora of the State of South Carolina," and who greatly praised the botanical treasures of this state. There was a little observatory, but it was locked: perhaps they did not want to show it to me, because it had too few instruments.[36]

In Mr. Herbemont's garden we saw some very interesting plants and trees: magnolias and gardenias; pomegranate and other fruit trees, which he had grafted on each other in a very special way; date palms and fig trees raised from seeds; and quite a number of evergreen laurels.

A mile outside the city a canal, three miles long, had been dug along the left side of the *Congaree River* in order to avoid some little waterfalls—*rapids*. This canal has four locks, and the difference of the water level between the upper and lower locks amounts to thirty-six feet. Two of the locks are built of granite which is quarried near the canal. They had to blast several stone boulders to make a way for the canal. The other two locks are made of bricks, and the masonry seemed to be well done. They were just building a bridge over the *Congaree* for the road to *Augusta*. It is made of wood, but it is going to rest on 8 stone pillars. These pillars of granite are erected without the help of lime or cement.[37]

Not far from the bridge are several large cotton fields which belong to the rich Taylor family.[38] On one of those cotton fields the cotton was just harvested by fifty-eight Negroes of both sexes. They remove the cotton with their fingers from the bolls, careful that no dry leaves should hang on, put it in bags which are hanging around their necks, and at last pour it into the baskets. These Negroes made a very disagreeable impression on me, especially since some of the women asked Mr. *Herbemont* for chewing tobacco. We noticed also very beautiful oak trees and pines of which all the woods which we had passed in the last few days are full. The pines have extremely long needles. Especially the young saplings look very pretty. Their pine needles are more than a foot long, and the saplings look like the tufts of horsehair on the chakos of the Prussian grenadiers. A long mosslike plant, Spanish beard, hangs down from the trees. These plants are collected, laid in water, where the gray hull rots away;

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[35] He apparently has reference to Stephen Elliott, 1771-1830, who was born in Beaufort, served in the State senate for four years, was president of the Bank of the State of South Carolina for eighteen years, and was the co-founder of *Southern Review*. He is best known for his studies of South Carolina fauna and flora. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI (1943), 99.

[36] Green seems to agree with the duke. In his description of the observatory, he says: "It had a good astronomical circle; but there was such meager equipment that visitors were not often shown the interior." *History of the University of South Carolina*, 162.

[37] Because these would have to be imported with great cost from the Northern states.

[38] This was probably Colonel Thomas Taylor, one of the first settlers of Columbia. He was still living, although past eighty, at the time of the duke's visit. He is listed among the "eminent men of Richland (County)," Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1826), 699 n; "A columbia Scrapbook, 1701-1842" (in the Library of the University of South Carolina, Columbia), 55.

the black fiber which then appears and which resembles horsehair, is used to fill mattresses and is also exported to Europe for this purpose. Finally we saw several aromatic and medicinal herbs, for example *Monarda penidata* which is supposed to help prevent kidney stones.

The *Lunatic Asylum* of Columbia lies outside the city on an open place. A porch with six columns adorns the main building in which one finds the apartments of the overseer, the offices and the so called *"state rooms"* for the well-to-do patients. The main building has a three-story wing on each side, where the insane have their rooms. Each wing stands to the main building in an angle of more than ninety degrees, and with increasing financial income, several more wings are to be added in the same manner, so that the finished building will make an octagon. A little tower on the main building offers a very broad view. But as far as one can see there is nothing but woods. Judging from the plan for the whole institution, the sick people will find much comfort here: good rooms, gardens and balconies, and the whole surrounded by high walls.

They are building a Catholic chapel in Gothic style in *Columbia.* Since the subscription has not been suffcient, they have started a lottery to cover the deficit; next to this half finished chapel stands a theatre which also has been left unfinished because of lack of funds.

We had a very nice dinner party at Professor Henry's. There I noticed the queer custom that the ladies sit together at one corner of the table. However, I put a stop to that old custom and sat down among the ladies: and the food tasted none the worse for it.

One evening I spent at a ball which the rich Mr. *Taylor* gave on his plantation. There I found a large and very splendid company. The music, however, was something very unusual; for the two Negroes who had played very well at the governor's two days before, were drunk, and therefore unable to play for the occasion. The whole orchestra consisted of two violins and a tambourine. One man beat the tambourine with a terrible energy and the other two literally scratched their violins, while one of them called the dance figures, imitating all movements with his body. The whole thing was great fun. By the way, I was struck by the great simplicity of the house. Besides the hall, I saw three other rooms; there were only the whitened walls, and no curtains on the windows.

BOOK REVIEWS

Forsyth, a County on the March. By Adelaide L. Fries, Mary Callum Wiley, Douglas L. Rights, Harvey Dinkins, Charles E. Siewers, Flora Ann Lee. Sketches by Joe King. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. vii, 248. $3.50.)

The people of Forsyth County have a handsome volume to commemorate their county's centennial. The University of North Carolina Press has given the book an attractive format with large, clear type, almost completely free of error. The colorful jacket with its historical panorama of Forsyth County should boost sales in the bookstores. The local artist who designed the jacket has also contributed an illustrated map for the end-pages and sketches for each of the chapters.

The sketches, unfortunately, promise a more dramatic narrative than is here unfolded. The writing often sinks to the conventional local-history level. Several of the chapters, for instance, suffer from a strictly chronological arrangement. Catalogs of names and events, too seldom relieved by a lively incident, fail to give a coherent story of the development of Forsyth County. Although authentic sources for human interest stories are hard to find, tantalizing references to "a clever little book" (p. 149) and to "one of the most thrilling voyage diaries extant" (p. 46) arouse a regret that these could not have been quoted.

The non-Forsythian thus comes away from the book unrewarded. He would have appreciated some attempt to relate local developments to changes in the rest of the country, giving him the history of the nation in miniature which all good local history should be. He would like to have seen more attention paid to Salem College and the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, the two Winston-Salem institutions with which he is most familiar.

It is unfair, however, to complain of a failure to meet this critic's Utopian demand that local history be a dramatic, integrated narrative, making the reader see the people who built the community and feel the spirit which inspired them. Until such local histories are written, *Forsyth* will do very well. In fact, the chapter on "Rural Forsyth" might well be a model for

local historians. With its full compendium of names and dates, the book will be read in Forsyth County for many years to come.

Marvin W. Schlegel.

Longwood College,
Farmville, Virginia.

George Washington. A Biography. Volumes I and II, Young Washington. By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. Pp. xxvi, 549; vi, 464. $15.00.)

It is an important event in American historiography when the distinguished biographer of Lee embarks upon a six-volume life of Washington. The first two volumes, which Freeman has subtitled "Young Washington," give much space to background material in eighteenth-century Virginia and cover the first twenty-seven years of Washington's life to his resignation as Virginia colonel at the end of 1758 after more than four and a half years of military service against the French and the Indians. The third volume will extend through the seige of Boston, the fourth to the end of the Revolution in 1783, and the fifth and sixth to his death in 1799. The entire work, scheduled for completion in 1952, will be the most voluminous study of Washington and promises to be the definitive biography.

With the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation and competent research assistants, Freeman has met the most exacting standards of the professional historian by his relentless search of all known sources of printed and manuscript materials for facts and by his ample documentation in thousands of footnotes and in appendices and illustrative documents several of which are presented for the first time. Rigid devotion to fact made the author cautious in statement when the facts were not conclusive and led him to devote an appendix to "Myths and Traditions of Washington."

Indicative of the thoroughness of research and exhaustive treatment is the fact that the two volumes under review cover a shorter period than the first volume of the biography by Rupert Hughes.

Because of the inadequacy of secondary writings on eighteenth-century Virginia and the important relation of the environment to an understanding of Washington, the author includes in the

first volume much and sometimes dull biographical and genealogical data about Washington's neighbors, an eighty-page appendix which for the first time presents the detailed and complicated history of the Fairfax grant of the Northern Neck of Virginia and a monographic chapter of 117 pages on the social, economic, political, and cultural life of "Virginia During the Youth of Washington." This background material involved extensive labor and is valuable, but it is questionable whether to the reader it clarifies or obscures Washington. It gives to "Young Washington" the flavor of the old-fashioned "life-and-times" type of biography. It is true that the profusion of background material will not loom so large in the completed work as in the first two volumes, and that Freeman's superior literary style and organization minimize the dullness of the work.

Freeman's microscopic research has brought to light some new facts regarding Washington's birthplace, education, ancestry, love affairs, and personality. His birthplace was an humble abode. His mother became a chronic complainer, requested and readily forgot financial help of her sons, and was a poor manager. The traditional picture of the Spartan "mother of Washington" distorts the realities. Though "dutiful" to her, Washington did not love her and was careful to stay away from her as much as he could. Freeman finds no evidence that the traditional "one Hobby" was Washington's first teacher or that Thomas Fairfax was his mentor. The strongest influences in Washington's youth were his half brother Lawrence, his neighbor Colonel William Fairfax, and Governor Dinwiddie who gave him his first military opportunity. His youthful opportunities—service with Lord Fairfax's surveying party, the mission to Fort Le Boeuf, and service with Braddock—resulted from his intelligent action in volunteering his services.

Freeman presents Washington as a serious, hard-driving, ambitious young man determined to achieve success and influence by the acquisition of honor, eminence, military distinction, and wealth in the form of extensive land holdings. Washington was ambitious, sensitive as to pay, rank, and recognition, contentious, lacking in warmth of personality, and in many respects an unlikable young man. He knew the road to personal success and

followed it relentlessly. There is little prophesy of the patriot and statesman.

The final chapter "The Man and His Training at Twenty-seven" is a superb summary and evaluation of the character of Washington and of the principal lessons and deficiencies of his military training.

The key to Washington's youth was ambition. "His was the quenchless ambition of an ordered mind. Ambition was Washington through 1758; Washington was a synonym for ambition. . . . He had willingness to work ceaselessly in order to get what he wanted. As his ambition broadened, it compassed four things—wealth, 'honor,' eminence and military distinction. All these might be stated in terms of the infinitive of ambition, which is to excel. So relentless was his ambition that it never burned out in enthusiasm or wasted itself in rash adventure. It was ambition that calculated every move coldly in terms of risk and gain and with a curious combination of self-consciousness and lack of it" (II, 388-389).

A. R. Newsome.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Florida's Flagler. By Sidney Walter Martin. (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1949. Pp. xi, 280. $4.00.)

This book is the only full-length biography of Henry Morrison Flagler, Florida railroad builder and developer. As such, it bridges an obvious gap in the writings on Florida history.

After devoting four chapters to Flagler's early life and the Standard Oil Company, in which he amassed the fortune that made possible his Florida activities, Dr. Martin tells in detail the story of the building of the Florida East Coast Railway and the chain of palatial hotels that dotted it from St. Augustine to Miami. As one reads, the feeling grows that the title might better have read, "Flagler's Florida." The narrative develops an interesting picture of the Florida resorts and their society at the turn of the century, which Flagler did so much to create, but nowhere does Flagler himself emerge as a real person. This is not entirely Dr. Martin's fault, for it is evident that he had to rely mainly on scanty—often fragmentary—material.

The uneven nature of the author's material is also reflected in the disproportionate amount of space which is given to comparatively trivial matters. The description of Flagler's Palm Beach mansion, Whithall, is given five and one-half pages, while only four and one-half pages are devoted to the activities of the Model Land Company, which, in the author's own words, "probably contributed as much to the building of Florida's east coast as the railroad or the hotel corporations" (p. 243).

The portion of the book that will be read with most curiosity is the chapter dealing with Flagler's divorce from his hopelessly insane second wife, Alice Shourds Flagler, and his December-and-June third marriage to Mary Lily Kenan. The most important section consists of the brief chapter of sixteen pages devoted to the Flagler System. Had Dr. Martin seen fit to expand his treatment of the ramifications of the Flagler System and its effect on the economy of the East Coast, his study would probably have been of more lasting value to serious students of modern Florida.

Dorothy Dodd.

Florida State Library,
Tallahassee, Fla.

The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson. By Roy Bird Cook. Third Edition, Revised. (Charleston: Charleston Printing Company, 1948. Pp. 198. $2.00.)

This is a revised edition of Mr. Cook's earlier work on the family and childhood of Jackson. Although it covers the whole life of Jackson, there is no attempt to present a full-length biography. Instead the emphasis is on the family background and early life of the great soldier. The author has gone to great effort to examine local newspapers, pamphlets, county and family records, and tombstones to verify or clear up minor details; and in evaluating this material he has revealed an objectivity that is commendable.

This edition is an enlargement and an improvement of the earlier ones which were published in 1924 and 1925. Mr. Cook has added anecdotes and facts about Jackson's boyhood and his schooling. Some of the additions, such as the correction of marriage and death dates and the spelling of the names of members of the Jackson family, may be of minor historical importance, but

they are evidences of greater accuracy. The author has added a good deal of information about the Neale family, which will be of particular interest to the genealogist. He has also included copies of all the known portraits of Jackson and brief histories of these portraits.

The most significant additions for the historian are the letters which are here published for the first time. Some of these are designed to prove that Jackson's appointment to West Point came as a result of the influence of the Jackson family, rather than as a result of Jackson's walking 300 miles to Richmond to beg for the appointment. The author shows that Jackson was not only able to pay for his trip to West Point, but that he had the backing of many respected citizens of his section of the state.

Other letters deal with Jackson's life at West Point, his life at Virginia Military Institute, his efforts to influence a friend to vote for his cousin for judge, his views on secession in February, 1861, his observations on the first battle of Manassas, and his wife's account of his death. It is a significant collection of letters which the author has in his possession.

Although this book was not written by a professional historian, it is in keeping with good scholarship. The historian and the genealogist will find it a valuable treatise.

Henry T. Shanks.

Birmingham-Southern College,
Birmingham, Ala.

Exploring the South. By Rupert B. Vance, John E. Ivey, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. 404. $3.50.)

This book is packed with drama. Not only does it unfold the development of a region with clarity and with an artistic sense of perspective, but each chapter of the book, such as that on textiles, contains an element of suspense. You wonder from one section of the book to the next just where this will lead and what will have to be done, and a host of other questions arise that any down-to-earth account stimulates. This is aided greatly by the skillful use of incidents.

Some idea of the contents of the book can be gained from the headings of the major divisions: I. Point of View, II. Man and

Land, III. Using Resources in Agriculture, IV. Using Other Natural Resources, V. Using Resources in Manufacturing, VI. Building a Better South. There are twenty-three chapters. Such historical background as the book contains is found as part of the story of each chapter. For example, chapter X deals with livestock, and has the following topics: The Place of Livestock in the Region, Livestock in the Old South, Livestock in Grass Country, A Crop to Fit the Land, Livestock in Tree Country Today.

The book is written for the junior high school student with whom it will find an enthusiastic reception. But mother and father, uncle and aunt, will find themselves picking it up and refusing to put it down. Many facts which the average person either takes for granted or never even knew are contained in the volume.

Exploring the South represents an interesting example of cooperation among Southern educators who served as an advisory committee and arranged to have parts of the manuscript tried out in a few Southern schools. This may have been one reason why the book keeps fairly close to dead center in its interpretation of Southern problems and does not attempt to crusade for any particular cause or program. Its tone is positive but not belligerently so.

One of the most crucial problems of the South, that of race accommodation, is handled by indirection. Race relations are not treated as such, but all through the book one realizes that the authors are aware of the problem. An understanding of the issues involved might have been pointed out more explicitly by the insertion of one or two cases of what certain Southern communities have done to better race relations by achieving more equal educational opportunity, better housing, a higher wage level, and the like for the disadvantaged of both races. Likewise, the matter of unionization of workers and its possible social effects receives scant mention. In other words, this is not a book on social problems but rather a delineation of the region and a description of its human and natural resources. This information is basic and must be mastered before one moves too far into the area of problem-solving.

Anyone interested in considering this book for classroom use will be delighted with its teachability. Charts and pictures tell a story almost by themselves and greatly enliven the well-written text. At the end of each chapter the student will find excellent suggestions for further study. These follow no rigid pattern but are adapted to the contents of the chapter just concluded and are frequently phrased in the language of exploration. An important feature is a section at the end entitled *References for Aids to Learning* which contains a selected bibliography, addresses of organizations and firms ready to supply study materials, film titles, and addresses of film agencies. There are also *Selected References for the Teacher.*

This book will fill an important need since it puts in readily available form and in clear, simple language the type of material which heretofore has been available only from many different sources and publications. Anyone reading it will really feel that he has been on a fascinating trip of exploration under competent and entertaining guides.

Irwin T. Sanders.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

The Story of Tobacco in America. By Joseph C. Robert. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. x, 296, xxiv. $5.00.)

American Tobacco and Central European Policy: Early Nineteenth Century. By Sister Mary Anthonita Hess. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948. Pp. ix, 199. $2.25.)

Both books are devoted to the subject of tobacco, with the treatment running somewhat parallel until about 1812. Here they diverge. Professor Robert's book develops into a lively and fresh synthesis of the tobacco industry in America, whereas Sister Hess with more restraint and documentation points up the role of tobacco in early nineteenth century American diplomacy in Central Europe.

Professor Robert, a recognized authority on tobacco, in unfolding the story of "that bewitching vegetable," has been singularly successful in describing the processes of manufacture and sale. He has also, with a flair for the dramatic, succeeded admirably in revealing the effects of tobacco on the political, eco-

nomic, and social life of the American people. One will seek in vain for a more arresting account of American tobacco habits through the years, of the crusade against tobacco, and of "The Cigarette Age" when the large producers of cigarettes competed for first place.

The Story of Tobacco in America is not, however, well-balanced. A scant dozen pages are devoted to the cultivation and harvest of the weed by tobacco farmers. Only the barest details are revealed. The tobacco harvest in the Bright Leaf Belt, lasting some five or six weeks, involved not only a weekly disruption of family and community life but was also significant because it expedited the depletion of the forest to provide wood for curing. There is, besides, no adequate explanation of the encroachment of the Bright Leaf Tobacco Belt on the Cotton Kingdom since World War I.

Despite these limitations, the book, written in a facile and animated style, will appeal to the general reader, and the reader general or otherwise will be amply rewarded by perusing its pages.

Sister Mary Anthonita Hess' monograph, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at The Catholic University of America, is a meritorious work of research in a rather obscure corner of American diplomacy. After exploring all the devious channels of diplomacy for extending the sale of American tobacco in Central Europe, the author concludes that the only positive result obtained was the laying of foundations for further and more fruitful diplomatic intercourse with Prussia, Austria, and Sardinia. The value of the monograph is enhanced by the inclusion of numerous statistical tables as appendices.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina Teachers College,
Cullowhee, N. C.

A Short History of the American People. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Oliver Perry Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon. Volume II. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxi, 811. $4.75.)

This is the second and concluding volume of a text designed for college freshmen and sophomores. It conforms to the same general pattern as that of the first volume and covers the social,

political, and economic development of the United States from the end of the Civil War through 1947. Its thirty-seven chapters are appropriately grouped in seven parts: (1) The Era of Reconstruction; (2) Social and Economic Trends, 1865-1914; (3) From the Bloody Shirt to Real Issues; (4) Adventures in Imperialism and World Politics; (5) The Progressive Era; (6) From Intervention to Isolation; and (7) The Crisis of World War II.

On the whole the method of arrangement and treatment is conventional, along lines usually adopted in standard works of this sort. Social and economic developments within a given period are described chronologically, followed by a political narrative covering the same period. Emphasis is placed upon significant trends without attempting to relate all the important events in American history, thus allowing a greater elaboration of pertinent matter than would other wise have been the case. Frequent cross references serve to keep the student oriented and aware of the correlation existing with regard to various social, economic, and political forces. The style is clear and direct and is well suited for the type of student for whose needs the book is intended. Marginal headings are supplied for the student's convenience. Numerous illustrations, both photographs and line drawings, lend attractiveness to the format, as do maps and charts, including full color maps on the end pages showing territorial growth of the United States to 1860 and the United States today.

While it is perhaps expecting too much to look for a book without errors, this one has more than are necessary, especially in a text that should serve to aid the teacher in impressing upon students the need for restrained and accurate statement. To suggest that "the nearest approach in recent years to the situation in the South [in 1865] could have been found in Poland, Russia, Greece, and Jugoslavia during the Second World War" (p. 5), is an excursion into rhetoric that lacks justification. The same might also be said of the statement that "about half the white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five had been killed or badly wounded" during the Civil War (p. 6). The student will be confused to find in one paragraph that the second Re-

construction Act was passed on April 23 and in the next paragraph that it was (correctly) on March 23 (p. 41). Other slips, doubtless the result of careless editing and proof reading, include "Cousins" for Cousin in the play Lincoln was attending when shot (p. 14); "payments" for pavements built in the District of Columbia by "Boss" Shepherd (p. 78); "Kuklas" for Kuklos in describing the origin of the name Ku Klux Klan (p. 102); U. S. *vs.* "E. R. Knight" for E. C. Knight (p. 259); General "George C." for George S. Patton (p. 685 and index); and, most amazing from three Southern historians, "James" Southall Freeman as the author of *R. E. Lee.*

James W. Patton.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Army Air Forces in World War II. Volume I. Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942. Edited by Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xxxi, 788. $5.00.)

Beginning with the saga of a few Signal Corps officers in 1917-18 over the battlefields of France and ending with the first raid on Festung Europa by our mature Air Force of World War II, authors Wesley Frank Craven of New York University and James Lea Cate of the University of Chicago reveal the causes and results of the growing pains suffered by the greatest military striking potential the world has ever known. The Air Force, like a child with an overactive pituitary, grew into a clumsy giant overnight with the outbreak of World War II, but this junior member of the military establishment, prior to the outbreak of war, was like a taut spider web stretched over all the territory flying an American flag. The United States was represented with Air Power but the strength was not there.

By using the historical reports of combat units, personal files of officers in the Army Air Force during the war, and official Air Force documents, Craven and Cate have loosely tied together in four parts the early heritage of the Army Air Force; the preparations of the Army Air Force prior to World War II; the tactical demands made upon this force by the people and the military establishment; and, finally, the preparations of the Army

Air Force for its air war against Germany. These phases are discussed with none of the Billy Mitchell "I-told-you-so," but with the matter-of-factness of *mene, mene, tekel upharsin.* Such a history could also have been done with the Army or Navy.

Prior to World War II the Army Air Corps was fighting with the Army and the Navy as to what its primary mission should be, and all three were in complete disagreement. With the advent of war the tactical and strategic necessities involved made it mandatory that there be complete revision in policy. The Air Force was called upon to defend the Western Hemisphere, develop a world-wide transport command, supply the losing forces in the Philippine Islands and the Dutch East Indies, maintain commitments to China, and establish bases in Australia, Greenland, Iceland, and Alaska. Beginning with a few Army Air Force generals, the American Aircraft industry, and certain civilian technicians, the Army Air Force was galvanized into a rapidly modernized striking unit that struck for the first time as an American combat command at Rouen-Sotteville on August 17, 1942.

The authors have tried to present factually an objective picture of the Army Air Force over this period of time, but in view of the present possibilities of Air Power and the possible demands that may be made upon it in the future, its development contrasts greatly today with the development twenty years ago. Students of military history will be greatly pleased with the information gathered together in this volume.

Robert S. Milner, *Captain.*

United States Air Force,
Biggs Field,
El Paso, Texas.

Legends of Baptist Hollow. By Bill McIlwain and Walt Friedenberg. Introduction by Hubert M. Poteat. (Wake Forest, North Carolina: Delta Publishing Company, 1949. Pp. 67. $1.00. Paper bound.)

The thin line between legend and history is well illustrated in this little volume. If all the occurences told of here did not actually happen as related, then history is the poorer. Fortunately, one can believe that they did; and when the monumental story of Wake Forest College is finally written, events and people such

as those narrated in this unpretentious book will contribute more to its spiritual history than the most complete set of names, dates, and statistical data. The six chapters tell of the pyromaniac who was never caught, the student who ate fried cat as the result of a bet, the abandoned liquor of a bootlegger's wrecked automobile, the plight of the student-editor who wrote about the "real life" of the less fortunate country folk, the slug-fest between the studens and the entertainers from the last circus to visit the community, and, best of all, "Doctor" Tom, the colored janitor with a flair for stupendous malapropisms.

These are all good stories, and Wake Forest graduates will doubtless discern much actual history behind the "legends." To this reviewer, however, it seems rather unfortunate that the two young authors felt it necessary to resort to an undistinguished dialecticism to tell their tales. The stories are good enough to stand alone without the questionable embellishment of laborious slang.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Guide to the Records in the National Archives. The National Archives Publication no. 43-13. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. xvi, 684.)

This book is an outline or guide to the more than 800,000 cubic feet of public records deposited in The National Archives through June 30, 1947. Of necessity it is general in scope and is designed to suggest to the research student the types of information which can be found in the records. It is a conspectus not a catalog of the records. While the bulk of the materials summarized are manuscript records, there are included also large numbers of maps, motion picture films, still pictures, and sound-recording units. This *Guide* completely supersedes its predecessor, *The Guide to the Material in the National Archives* (Washington, 1940), and is supplemented by a quarterly publication, *National Archives Accessions,* which lists in short form all current accessions of materials.

The descriptions of the records are arranged by "record groups," the unit of records control adopted in 1944, in the nu-

merical order of the transfer of the records to the National Archives. A "record group" is a body of records, generally of a bureau or other agency, which has been brought together largely because of provenance and convenience of control. The descriptions are written with painstaking accuracy and conciseness. Each contains an outline of the administrative history, functions, and organization of the agency which has produced the records. Such background knowledge has proved to be one of the greatest aids for any understanding of the records themselves which are characterized as to type, quantity, and chronological span. For many "record groups" useful bibliographical references on the records or to their producing agencies are listed. Often these references include important inventories, indices, finding lists, and the like which were compiled in the offices of the original agency or in the National Archives.

A well-written introduction explains the nature, scope, and limitations of the *Guide* and outlines the aims, functions, and services of the National Archives. Information on the regulations and restrictions governing the use of records is found in the appendices. A classified list of the "record groups" offers an approach to the materials which is based on the hierarchical organization of the government, while a subject and name approach is available through an excellent analytical index.

E. G. Roberts.

Duke University Library,
Durham, N. C.

Michigan and the Cleveland Era, Sketches of University of Michigan Staff Members and Alumni Who Served the Cleveland Administrations, 1885-89, 1893-97. Edited by Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948, Pp. 372. Photographs. $2.50.)

Michigan and the Cleveland Era is in reality not a study of the state of Michigan during the two administrations of Grover Cleveland, but it is, as the sub-title indicates, a collection of biographies of University of Michigan alumni and staff members who held elective or appointive offices during those years.

In a state which has been predominantly Republican the Democratic party was usually the "out" party. From 1872 until 1932,

a period during which there were sixteen presidential elections, the state of Michigan polled a Republican vote except in 1896 (Populist) and 1912 (Progressive). There were few opportunities for Democrats to rise to high office in the land. The Cleveland administration gave such a rare opportunity.

To many readers several of the biographies will be familiar. James Burrill Angell, J. Sterling Morton, Don M. Dickinson, Henry T. Thurber, and Edwin F. Uhl achieved national prominence. Seven of the thirteen men about whom the book was written were lawyers whose careers led into the federal judiciary or the national legislature.

There can be little doubt but that the part Don M. Dickinson played as a member of the Democratic national committee had a great deal to do with the calling of Michigan alumni into office. Dickinson acted as patronage dispenser for the party and Michigan men were among the recipients. As Postmaster General Dickinson filled the same place that James A. Farley would take under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

For the most part these men enacted important roles. James B. Angell served as minister plenipotentiary to China and acted as chairman of the treaty commission concerned with the delicate question of Chinese immigration. He was later appointed to the Canadian Fisheries Commission. Thomas M. Cooley became the first chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Cooley authored *Constitutional Limitations,* long considered an authoritative work on constitutional law. Don M. Dickinson served as senior counsel in the Bering Sea arbitration. As Solicitor General, Lawrence Maxwell was associated with the important *United States* v. *E. C. Knight Company* case. Alfred Noble, a civil engineer, served on the Isthmian Canal Commission and as a consulting engineer in the construction of the Panama Canal. Henry T. Thurber, a law firm partner of Dickinson, was offered and accepted the position as private secretary to Cleveland during his second term of office. Edwin F. Uhl decided the Misiones boundary dispute between Brazil and Argentena.

The last two chapters of the book list all alumni of the university who were either members of Congress or who held federal judgeships. The book is closed with biographical sketches of the contributing authors.

Correspondence, diaries, newspapers, and magazines form a part of the source material for the biographies. The overall impression given is that the book was primarily intended to reach alumni of the university and general readers particularly interested in the university and the state. Footnoting is not extensive and there is no bibliography.

H. O. Spencer.

Mishowaka Public Library,
Mishowaka, Michigan.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Miss Bernice Draper of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

Miss Vera Sargent of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been promoted from associate professor of history to professor of history.

Mr. Richard Griffin of Louisburg College has been elected assistant professor of social science at Atlantic Christian College for the year 1949-50.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe of Wake Forest College has been promoted from assistant professor of history to associate professor of history.

Mr. C. D. Yearns of Wake Forest College has been promoted from instructor in history to assistant professor of history.

Mr. O. F. Connelly, Jr., for the past year teaching fellow in history at Wake Forest College, is teaching at Campbell College for the year 1949-50.

Mr. James A. Hawkins, last year a teaching fellow in history at Wake Forest College, is teaching history in Greensboro High School for the year 1949-50.

Mr. J. A. McGeachy of Davidson College taught history in the summer school at Southwest University, Memphis, Tennessee.

On August 31 Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College lectured before the National Academy of the Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C., on the subject "The Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Law enforcement officers from many parts of the United States attend this school.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently received a copy of *The Story of Ocracoke* by Alice K. Rondthaler, cover by J. O. Fitzgerald, and illustrations by Lulu J. Holder. (Okracoke, N. C.: Channel Press, 1949, Pp. 6), and *Thomas Dixon, North Carolina's Most Colorful Character of His Generation,* by Lee B. Weathers. (Shelby, N. C.: Shelby Daily Star, 1949. Illustrations. Pp. 16, 25¢).

During the week beginning July 4 Watauga County celebrated its centennial. On July 7 Senator Frank P. Graham delivered the principal address which was made on the day set aside for giving special recognition to Dr. B. B. Dougherty, president of Appalachian State Teachers College, who for fifty years has been a leading educator in western North Carolina. Dr. D. J. Whitener, assisted by Stanley A. Harris and Commissioner of Agriculture L. Y. Ballentine, was chairman of the educational program. Others appearing on the program were: Johnston J. Hayes, Judge of the Federal Court of the Middle District of North Carolina; and D. Hiden Ramsey, editor of the *Asheville-Citizen Times.* A fried chicken luncheon was served at which time Judge Wilson Warlick acted as toastmaster. Among those who appeared on the program briefly were: R. Gregg Cherry, former governor of North Carolina; Gurney P. Hood, commissioner of banks; Clyde A. Erwin, superintendent of public instruction; B. C. Brock, state senator; Gordon Winkler and Leroy Martin.

The State Department of Archives and History cooperated with Watauga County Library in supplying photocopies of maps and official documents dealing with the history of Watauga County which celebrated its centennial during July. An interesting display was made in the Library building.

On July 4 Senator Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina, delivered the principal address at the formal opening of the museum at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Judge E. Earle Revis introduced Senator Graham. Mr. Paul W. Schenck presided at the meeting

and Raleigh Taylor, superintendent of the park, made the announcements about the museum and the exhibits.

The committee of awards of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, composed of Mrs. C. H. Shipp, vice president, of Durham; Mrs. W. L. Johnson of LaGrange; Mrs. J. W. Keel of Rocky Mount; and Mrs. Quentin Gregory, president, of Halifax, has announced the following awards: The Abel A. Shuford Scholarship, University of North Carolina, to Jane Spivey Lassiter, Weldon; James J. Pettigrew Scholarship, East Carolina Teachers College, to Geraldine Lancaster, Pinetops; Adeline Claypoole Bernard Scholarship, Flora Macdonald College, to Margaret Cashwell, Hope Mills; Cadia Barbee Welborn Scholarship, High Point College, to Ianthia Gerringer, Gibsonville; P. H. Hanes Scholarship, Brevard College, to Jewell Sentelle, Pisgah Forest; Col. Simon H. Rogers Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Ann Hamilton Hall, Charlotte, N. C.: Orin Randolph Smith Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Lucille Hassell, Hendersonville; James A. Metz Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Ruth English Sevier, Asheville; Emaline J. Pigott Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Peggy Ann Silliken, New Bern; Samuel McDowell Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Eva Kate Moore, Roxboro; Margaret Burgwyn Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Elizabeth Bynum, Winston-Salem; Elvira Worth Moffitt Scholarship, to Jane Long Thompson, Graham; Mathew W. Ransom Scholarship, University of North Carolina, to Robert Hampton Elmore, Roxboro; General Robert Ransom Scholarship, N. C. State College, to William Leo Nail; Kate Clements Ellis Scholarship, Mars Hill College, to Harold Newman, Raleigh; Zebulon B. Vance Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Jean Satterwaite, Weldon; Holt Wallace Children of the Confederacy Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Betty Jean Teague, Sanford; and Mrs. William M. Passley Scholarship, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, to Nancy Blanton, Kernersville.

On June 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke in Raleigh before the Daughters of Colonial Wars on the subject "The State Department of Archives and History and its functions."

On June 28 Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History spoke before the Rotary Club in Salisbury on the historical marker program conducted by the Department in cooperation with the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Highway and Public Works Commission.

The State Department of Archives and History in cooperation with the Department of Conservation and Development and the State Highway and Public Works Commission has erected a highway marker to O. Max Gardner, former governor of North Carolina and Ambassador to the Court of Saint James's. The marker stands at the birthplace of Governor Gardner and within 300 yards of his grave.

The Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission held its organizational meeting in Goldsboro on August 29. The Commission had been appointed previously by Governor Scott under authority of an act passed by the 1949 General Assembly which authorized the Commission to raise funds and restore "Fremont," the Wayne County birthplace of Aycock, North Carolina's educational governor. Dr. D. J. Rose of Goldsboro was elected chairman of the Commission, Mrs. Paul Borden of Goldsboro, vice chairman; Mrs. Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, secretary; and Mrs. Estelle T. Smith of Raleigh, treasurer. The officers of the Commission, together with Mr. R. O. Dail of Goldsboro, Col. Hugh Dorch of Goldsboro, and Mr. Henry Belk, of Goldsboro comprise the Executive Committee.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, on July 13 spoke before the Junior Chamber of Commerce at New Bern on "Tyron's Palace and its Restoration." Dr. Crittenden was introduced by Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, a member of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History.

On June 19 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Pittsboro (Chatham County) and its vicinity. The group was led by Mr. Malcolm Fowler, president of the Society, and Mr. W. B. Morgan, editor of the *Chatham Record,* acted as guide. The group, composed of persons from Lee, Orange, Richmond, Anson, Cumberland, Wake, Harnett, Franklin, Moore, and Durham counties, visited the Masonic Temple erected in 1833; Pittsboro's oldest dwelling, the Patrick Saint Lawrence house erected in 1787; Pittsboro Academy, chartered in 1786; the old Chatham courthouse; the George Lucas home, the original of which was built in 1786 but is now torn down; the Gideon Alston house situated between Pittsboro and Siler City, a portion of which was built in 1760; the birthplace of Charles Manly, governor of North Carolina, 1848-1850; the Kelvin home, built in the early 1800's and now owned by Daniel L. Bell; the birthplace of James Iredell Waddell, one of the heroes of the Confederate Navy; the Saint Bartholomew Episcopal Church, built in 1833; and the home of Henry A. London, which was built by Dr. Isaac Hall in the early 1800's.

On August 28 the North Carolina Society of County Historians made a partial tour of the City of Raleigh. Due to the rain the tour was concluded shortly after noon. The group visited the State Department of Archives and History, the John Haywood house, Christ Church Rectory, and the State Capitol. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, told the group briefly about the program of the Department, while Mr. W. F. Burton explained the functions of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, Mr. D. L. Corbitt talked about the Division of Publications, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan told about the Division of Museums, and Mr. William S. Powell explained the highway marker program. Mrs. Jordan addressed the group on the John Haywood house, Mr. Corbitt told some of the facts about the Capitol, Mr. Powell told about the Christ Church Rectory, and Mr. Charles M. Heck explained the importance and significance of the city cemetery in the history of Raleigh. Mr. Heck highlighted his talk by pointing out the wealth and importance of families buried there. The staff of the State Department of Archives and History, Mr. Willis G. Briggs, and

Mr. Charles M. Heck then entertained the group at a picnic luncheon, served indoors because of the rain. Those attending the tour were from Hertford, Northampton, Bertie, Franklin, Wake, Davidson, Anson, and Lee counties and from Detroit, Michigan.

On August 28 the Union Presbyterian Church at Vass celebrated its 152nd anniversary with a homecoming. Rev. Charles Rowan of Indian Trail delivered the sermon and John W. Carrington of Washington delivered an historical address. Dr. F. L. Knight of Sanford also delivered an address.

On August 26 the Moore's Creek Battleground Association celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by having a program and serving a picnic lunch. Senator Frank P. Graham and Dr. Christopher Crittenden delivered historical addresses. Others appearing on the program were: J. V. Whitfield of Pender County, E. A. Hammel, representing the National Park Service, A. William Clark, representing Governor W. Kerr Scott, and David L. Lucas, representing the Moore's Creek Battleground Association. Rev. P. L. Clark gave the invocation and Clifton L. Moore presided.

Mr. David Johnson, Jr., a high school student of Hendersonville, has published an article "The History of the Civil War in Henderson County," in the *Times-News*, Hendersonville, N. C.

The Commission for a Memorial to the Three North Carolina Presidents has published the addresses and papers in connection with the unveiling on Capitol Square in Raleigh, October 19, 1948, of the monument to these presidents. This volume is bound in cloth, contains 61 pages, and is illustrated. Copies for libraries and interested individuals may be procured by addressing an application to D. L. Corbitt, Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Box 1881, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., who received his Ph. D. degree at the University of North Carolina in August, has accepted a position in the department of history at North State Teachers College, Denton, Texas.

Mr. F. Watts Ashly of Emory Junior College, Valdosta, Georgia, and William Lee Green of Missouri School of Mines at Rolla, Missouri, taught history at the second term of summer school at Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen by Visitors, by Henry Calberg, has been published by North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Copies are available at 25¢ per copy from Miss Annie B. Benbow, R.F.D. No. 7, Greensboro, N. C.

On August 4 Dr. Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, lectured before the 252nd session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the subject "Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Moravian and Quaker History." This lecture will be published.

Dr. Algie I. Newlin, who for the past two and one-half years has been serving as head of the Friends Center in Geneva, Switzerland, has returned to Guilford College.

Miss Mary Frances Gyles, who received the Ph. D. degree from the University of North Carolina in August, has accepted a position in the department of social science, Memphis State College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Dr. Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University was visiting professor of history at the University of North Carolina for the second summer session.

Mr. L. L. Bernard, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position at the John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Robert S. Lambert, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position at Clemson College, Clemson, S. C.

The following students who during the summer received the M. A. degree in history from the University of North Carolina have accepted positions as indicated: Mr. Luther N. Byrd will teach at Elon College; Mr. Carrington Gretter will teach at Louisburg College; Mr. Ernest H. Hooper will teach at LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn; Mr. Frank W. Ryan will teach at the College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.; and Mr. James W. Wall will teach at the Piedmont Junior High School, Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. Spencer B. King, Jr., a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has published *Selective Service in North Carolina,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

Mr. Robert A. Lively, a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in history at the University of North Carolina, has published *The South in Action: A Sectional Crusade against Freight Rate Discrimination.* (James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

A survey of the records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North Carolina is being made by Mr. William S. Powell of the State Department of Archives and History. He will be grateful for information about the records of those churches which are inactive and about records which are now in private hands. In addition he also seeks information about the official and private papers of the bishops and other clergy of the Church in this state.

The Library of Congress has announced the acquisition of the Orville and Wilbur Wright papers which have recently been given to the Library by the Orville Wright estate. These papers are invaluable in the study of the development of aviation and include a description by Orville Wright of the Kitty Hawk flights

of 1903; diaries and notebooks dealing with scientific experiments carried out by the brothers from 1901 to 1920; and professional, scientific, and personal correspondence extending from 1881 to 1948. They may be consulted only by written permission of the executives of the estate.

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Dr. Christopher Crittenden is director of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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Mr. George Myers Stephens is editor and publisher of *The Southern Packet* and owner of the Stephens Press, Asheville, North Carolina.

Dr. Mary Callum Wiley is a retired teacher of English in the R. J. Reynolds High School. She writes a daily column for the *Twin-City Sentinel* of Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Alice M. Baldwin is the former dean of the Woman's College and professor of history at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

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Mr. William S. Powell is researcher for the historical marker program of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

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